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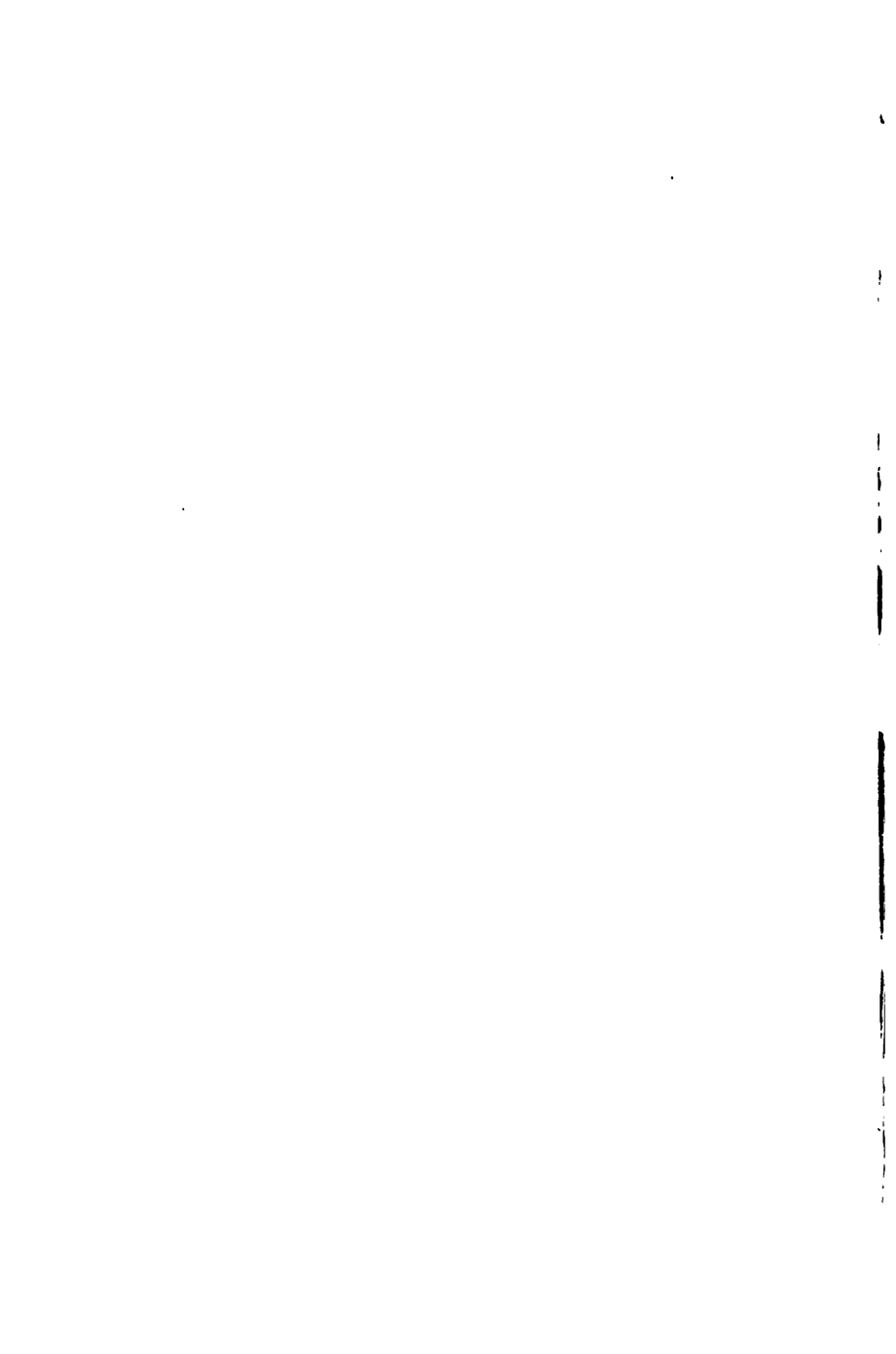
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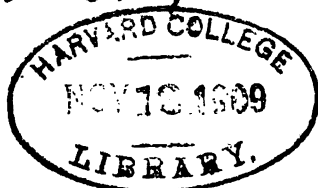
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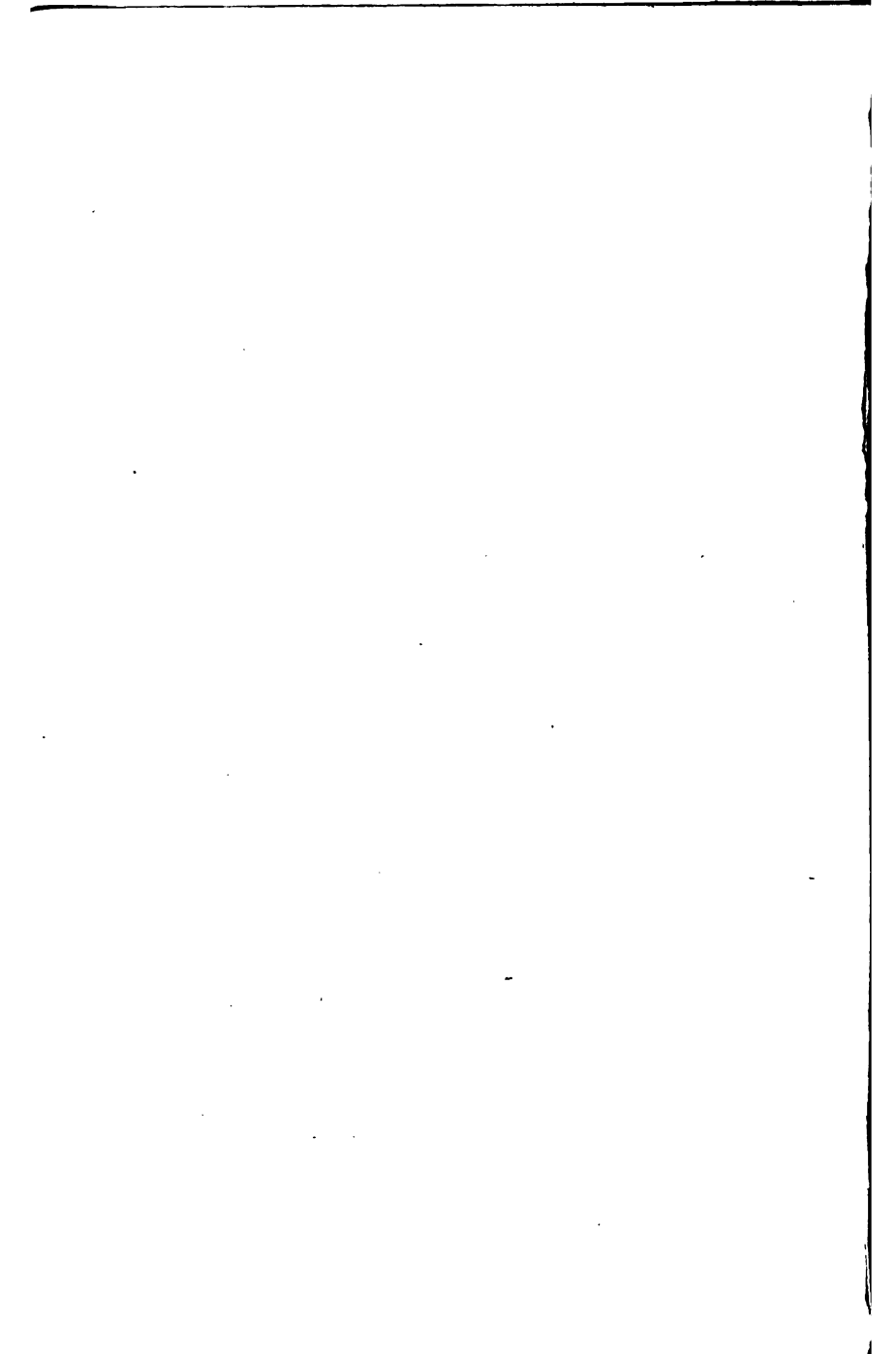
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THE LABOUR PARTY

CHAPTER I

HOW LABOUR BECAME INDEPENDENT

SOME years ago an enthusiastic theological student proposed to broaden the minds of his friends by arranging a series of meetings to be addressed by Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Buddhists, Jews, Mohammedans, and Protestants. The principal of the college objected, suggesting the impropriety of a Jesuit addressing Anglican students, but he added that he himself was quite willing to lecture on Roman claims, and hoped he would put the case fairly and impartially. The student was unconvinced, for how could an Anglican principal put the Roman claim as convincingly as a Roman? If, on the other hand, the thing was possible, why should not the Roman priest speak for himself?

Now, both Liberals and Conservatives have always appealed to Labour, asking its confidence. Rely on us: we will put the Labour claim fairly and impartially, but working men

have at last adopted the position of the sceptical student, and are beginning to ask, Why should not Labour go to Parliament and speak for itself?

Ever since working men have had the franchise they have been inundated with leaflets from the Liberal Publication Department and the Unionist Central Office. These leaflets are very convincing. They give chapter and verse for their recriminations. The Radical writers warn us that the Conservatives pose as the friends of Labour, but actually they represent landed interests and the new plutocracy. Occasionally, in very shame, they pass a Labour measure, most unwillingly, and in mutilated form. They warn us not to trust the Unionist party.

Don't trust the Radicals, reply the Conservatives. Their path is strewn with broken pledges. They humbug you at the polls, and do not even attempt to carry out their Labour promises. They vote against factory legislation, and on the side of capitalist monopolies. It is not astonishing, seeing that they are a party of rich employers of labour, who gain financially by your poverty and unemployment.

The working man used to be bewildered by these counter statements. Which was he to believe?

He began gradually to draw his own deductions. It was as if some enterprising person had gummed the most trenchant Tory attack to the most trenchant Liberal attack, and had

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printed at the bottom of this composite leaflet :
Therefore vote for Labour.

Which attack was true? Which was the working man to believe? Well, eventually he has decided to believe them both. A plague on both your Houses! he cries. In future I will house myself.

This decision has been come to slowly. For years past the Socialist has urged it upon the working classes. You must be independent, he said. You must have your own party.¹ As far back as 1885 the Social Democratic Federation (S.D.F.) put two candidates in the field; over twelve years ago the Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.) was formed, its ultimate aim being Socialism, its immediate aim Labour Representation. Within ten years of its formation the I.L.P. had contested 2000 local elections, with 800 successes, had fought 50 Parliamentary contests, its candidates polling at first an average of 1592 votes; in 1900, 3720 votes; and in the present election an average of 7649 votes.

Both Societies have worked unceasingly for Labour Independence. The Fabians, a society of avowed Socialists, who had for years been content with a policy of permeation—a singularly successful policy in many directions—published in the *Fortnightly Review*, November 1893, a manifesto entitled, “To your Tents, O Israel!” in which the Liberal Cabinet was

¹ See note appended at end of chapter.

accused of sweating, and the Liberal "betrayal" was fully set forth. They now demanded independence of both parties, and suggested a scheme to Trade Unions by which they could place fifty Labour men in the field.

For twenty-five years the policy has been urged, in halls and clubs, at street corners, on village greens, in factories and workshops, in season and out of season, and at last this insistent propaganda has borne fruit, and independence is an accomplished fact.

Perhaps the most persuasive of Socialist writers, and certainly the most widely read, has been Mr Robert Blatchford, who sacrificed a considerable financial position to start *The Clarion*, in the cause of Socialism. In "Merrie England" and "Britain for the British," hundreds of thousands of copies being sold, he advocated Socialism and direct Labour Representation. Replying to the common objection that Socialism would be all very well if men were angels, but that self-interest is the sole principle of human nature, he denies the truth of this, but adds: "If self-interest be the leading motive of human nature, does it not follow that when a man wants a thing done for his own advantage, he will be wise to do it himself?"

"An upper-class party may be expected to attend to the interests of the upper class. And you will find that such a party has always done

what might be expected. A middle-class party may be expected to attend to the interests of the middle class. And history and the logic of current events prove that the middle class has done what might have been expected.

“And if you wish the interests of the working class to be attended to, you will take to heart the lesson contained in those examples, and will form a working-class party.

“Liberals will declare, and do declare, in most pathetic tones, that they have done more, and will do more, for the workers than the Tories have done or will do. And Liberals will assure you that they are really more anxious to help the workers than we Socialists believe.

“But those are side issues. The main thing to remember is, that even if the Liberals are all they claim to be, they will never do as much for Labour as Labour could do for itself.

“Is not self-interest the ruling passion in the human heart? Then how should *any* party be so true to Labour and so diligent in Labour's service as a Labour Party would be?

“What is a Trade Union? It is a combination of workers to defend their own interests from the encroachments of the employers.

“Well, a Labour Party is a combination of workers to defend their own interests from the encroachments of the employers, or their representatives in Parliament and on Municipal bodies.

"Do you elect your employers as officials of your Trade Unions? Do you send employers as delegates to your Trade Union Congress? You would laugh at the suggestion. You know that the employer *could* not attend to your interests in the Trade Union, which is formed as a defence against him.

"Do you think the employer is likely to be more useful or more disinterested in Parliament or the County Council than in Trade Union?"

It was through the determination of the Socialists that the Labour representation scheme is at last a reality. Liberal and Unionist critics are now damning the Labour Party with faint praise, and offering advice to the effect that Labour must not be led by the nose by those wicked Socialists. They appear to think that the Labour Representation Committee has been "captured" by some trickery or other, and do not the least realise that the men of that committee are shrewd and capable business people, and that in so far as the Socialist members lead, it is because they have a definite policy and aim to which Labour after years of thought and criticism is more and more inclined to consent. There is hardly a single case where a Trade Unionist has been adopted as a Labour Representative candidate, except where an I.L.P. or other Socialist organisation has prepared the ground and laid the foundations for his candidature.

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Thus the present movement was inevitable; its growth was only a question of time, but the Trade Unions have been pricked on to more immediate action by what is known as the Taff Vale decision. To understand this decision it will be necessary to recall the early days of Trade Unionism.

Thirty years ago Labour for a brief period seemed to stir. Parliament was appealed to by Trade Unionists. Liberals and Tories proved for the most part unsympathetic. Mr J. Ramsay MacDonald writes: "A Commission had been appointed to enquire into the grievances of the Unions, and the result was that the whole country was in possession of a great amount of accurate information regarding the theory and the practice of Trade Unionism. The Act of 1871, deliberately declining to make Trade Union funds liable for attachment in consequence of the acts of agents, was passed. The bench and the Bar were in touch with the prevailing spirit, and the protection of the funds was accepted as being not only equitable but legal.

"The Labour movement quietened down, split over Liberalism and Toryism, and then ceased to be an independent and active factor in politics. Within the space of six years three Labour members had been elected to Parliament, ~~the Labour Representation League ceased to exist,~~ Trade Union officials began to associate them-

selves with ordinary capitalist parties, they fought a man all day over a trade dispute and spoke for him all evening in a political contest."

The ordinary public has got more and more out of touch with Trade Union affairs. The bench gradually drifted away from its knowledge of, and sympathy with the spirit of 1870, and a series of decisions hampering to the Unions and subversive to the intentions of the original Act began to be delivered.

Picketing was declared only to be legal under conditions which made it practically impossible, and finally, in July 1901, the Law Lords decided that a Union could be sued with its agents, and its funds made liable for damages, thereby reversing the decision of the Court of Appeal and restoring the extraordinary decision of Justice Farwell: this is known as the Taff Vale decision. Mr MacDonald reminds us that during the debate on the second reading of the Trade Union Bill of 1871, the Home Secretary of the day explained that the Government regarded Trade Unions as clubs, the liabilities of which were "such as courts of law should neither enforce, nor modify, nor annul." If they are to be regarded as legal corporations, then they should be conceded the full privileges of corporations: but this is not proposed. Equally extraordinary seems the decision as regards picketing, which now it appears may not be carried on, even peaceably, if any one alleges

that the picket causes him annoyance by reasoning with him!

This decision convinced the already more than half convinced Unions that the interests of Labour could not be adequately safeguarded excepting by Labour Representation. Hence was formed in February 1900 the Labour Representation Committee (L.R.C.),¹ a federation composed of Trade Unions, Trades Councils, Socialist Societies, and Co-operative Societies; in constituencies not covered by a Trades Council the Labour Association for the whole constituency being eligible for affiliation on the same basis as Trades Councils. The object and constitution are described in the "Reformers' Year Book," 1906, as follows:—

" OBJECT.

"To secure, by united action, the election to Parliament of candidates promoted, in the first instance, by an affiliated society or societies in the constituency, who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own whips and its own policy on Labour questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any section of the Liberal or Conservative parties, and not to oppose any other candidate recognised by this Committee. All such candidates shall pledge themselves to accept this constitution, to abide by

¹ At a meeting held on the eve of the opening of Parliament February 1906. It has been decided that the title L.R.C. should no more be used, and that the Federation be known in future as the Labour Party (L.P.). I have, however, retained the more familiar title for the purposes of this book.

the decisions of the Group, and to appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only.

"CONSTITUTION.

"The affairs of the Committee are transacted by an Executive Committee of thirteen members, of whom nine represent the Trade Unions, one the Trades Councils, and three the Socialist Societies. The Annual Meeting is held in January.

"A Parliamentary Fund is raised in order to assist in paying (a) the election expenses of candidates, and (b) the maintenance of Members of Parliament duly approved by the Committee. This fund is maintained by means of a levy upon the affiliated societies at the rate of 1d. per member per annum. According to the present arrangements the L.R.C. pays 25 per cent. of the Returning Officers' expenses of its approved candidates, and £200 per annum towards the maintenance of such candidates elected to Parliament."

The L.R.C. then put forward fifty men at the recent elections, twenty-nine of whom have been returned, some with enormous majorities, three or four with clear majorities over Liberal and Tory candidates, and the defeated L.R.C. men polling over 70,000 votes. (Full list of members, polling strength, etc., see Appendix.)

The Miners Unions work independently of the L.R.C. Their M.P.'s have generally been orthodox Liberals, and although labelled "Labour," they for the most part obey the Liberal whip. At this election they put a larger number of candidates than ever in the field, fifteen of whom were returned; but it is significant to

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notice that several of these represent Unions which favour a forward policy, desire to work independently of the Liberals, and in harmony with the L.R.C. The Chester-le-Street victory gained by Mr Taylor, who represents independence against both Unionist and Radical, and the success of Mr Williams in another three-cornered fight will encourage the older-fashioned miners to run independents on a definitely collectivist programme. (*See Chapter VI.*)

The Social Democratic Federation, with the exception of the Anglican Guild of St Matthew, the oldest Socialist society in England, joined the L.R.C. but left it, when it became clear that they might be called upon to support certain L.R.C. candidates who were independent but not distinctly socialist,¹ and ran their own men as usual. Mr Will Thorne (S.D.F.), however, signed the L.R.C. basis. He preached uncompromising Socialism, and was returned by a majority of 5000 at South-west Ham. Mr Sam Hobson, who stood as an independent Socialist candidate at Rochdale, polled over 2000, but failed to secure the seat. The S.D.F. financed eight candidates. None of these were returned, but they managed to poll some 23,000 votes

¹ Some few L.R.C. men repudiated the title "Socialist," notably Mr Mitchell at Darlington. He told his opponents it was unjust to apply the title to him. He issued a vague programme, and was defeated; but cf. top of page 9, where it appears that the S.D.F. would not have been obliged to support but only not to oppose him.

between them, Mr Hartley in East Bradford scoring 3090, and Mr Hyndman at Burnley nearly 5000, both in three-cornered fights, without conveyances and in Bradford without canvassing. In 1885 the S.D.F. ran the first two Socialists in England, and they polled 59 votes between them, Williams (Hampstead), 27, Fielding (Kensington), 32. In 1906 ten S.D.F. men run and poll over 35,000 votes.

Lord Randolph Churchill, who was perhaps the shrewdest political prophet of his day, wrote the following letter in April 1892 to Mr Arnold White, the Unionist candidate for the Tyne-side division of Northumberland. It is not included in the recent biography.

"... The Labour community is carrying on at the present time a very significant and instructive struggle. It has emancipated itself very largely from the mere mechanism of party politics. It realises that it now possesses political power to such an extent as to make it independent of either party in the State, and the struggle which it is now carrying on is less against capital, less one of wages or division of profits, but rather one for the practical utilisation in its own interest of the great political power which it has acquired. The Labour interest is now seeking to do for itself what the landed interest and the manufacturing capitalist interest did for themselves, when each in turn commanded the disposition of State

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policy. Our land laws were framed by the landed interest for the advantage of the landed interest, and foreign policy was directed by that interest to the same end. Political power passed very considerably from the landed interest to the manufacturing capitalist interest, and our whole fiscal system was shaped by this latter power to its own advantage, foreign policy being also made to coincide.

"We are now come, or are coming fast, to a time when Labour laws will be made *by the Labour interest for the advantage of Labour*. . . . Labour in this modern movement has against it the prejudices of property, the resources of capital and all the numerous forces—social, professional, and journalistic—which those prejudices and resources can influence."

A remarkably correct forecast of the present situation, except in one particular. Many people indignantly criticise the L.R.C. and Socialist bodies for running middle-class candidates. As a matter of fact, the Representation Committee only ran one or two out of some fifty candidates, but Stanton Coit (L.R.C.) at Wakefield, and Snowden (L.R.C.) at Blackburn, are of middle-class extraction. This criticism recalls Churchill's misunderstanding of the Labour attitude. The New Movement does not merely seek to substitute the class domination of workers over employers for the class domination of workers by employers, but

to reconstitute Society on a co-operative basis ; its aims are *incidentally* working class, *ultimately* National. It would prefer Socialist dukes to Radical or Tory dustmen ; so long as duke, artisan, stockbroker, or tradesman could prove that he possessed a working knowledge of Trade Unionism, and was in thorough sympathy with collectivist demands, would sign the L.R.C. basis and abide by it, he would be considered an admirable candidate. Manual workers will probably far outnumber any other description of candidates. No honest and efficient politician would be excluded.

Extract from "Coming Men" Series. No. XII. J. Ramsay MacDonald on "The Labour Party." 3 Whitefriars Street, E.C. 1d.

"In the election of 1868, Mr Cremer and Mr Howell ran as independent representatives of the working classes, but were defeated, and a similar fate met candidates who contested by-elections in Greenwich and Southwark ; in 1869, at the Birmingham meeting of the newly-formed Trade Union Congress, Labour Representation in Parliament was adopted as a cardinal principle, and this, on the approach of the General Election, was re-affirmed by the Congress which met at Sheffield in 1873 ; in the election of 1874 thirteen Labour candidates went to the poll under the patronage of the Labour Representation League, which had been formed a few years before, practically as an adjunct to the Trade Union Congress, and of which Mr Henry Broadhurst was secretary ; in the

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same year Trade Unions for the first time subscribed from their funds in aid of Parliamentary contests.

"At that time the political demands of the Unions were limited. They desired certain amendments in the law relating to Trade Unions and Conspiracy, and they claimed that in the House of Commons working men as such should be represented. I cannot write the history of Labour Representation here, and so I hurry on to the end of this preliminary agitation, which came in a year or two, after a Conservative government had amended the offending law, and the Liberal Party had smoothed the way to the House of Commons for a few working men.

"For some years the agitation slept. But the London Dock Strike of 1889, and the New Trade Unionism which followed, awoke it. It created storms at the Trade Union Congresses from Dundee to Norwich (1889 to 1894), and it led to a resolution being passed at the Belfast meeting in 1893 calling upon the Trade Unions to form a political federation. The resolution was stillborn. The Parliamentary Committee reported next year that only two Unions had signified agreement with the resolution, and for four years nothing further was done."

The immediate origin of the L.R.C. is to be found in a resolution of the Trade Union Congress of 1899, which instructed the Parliamentary Committee to summon a conference of Trade Unionists, Co-operators, Socialists, etc., to consider Labour Representation. The Conference was held, February 1900, in the Farringdon Street Memorial Hall, Messrs Steadman, Burns, and Keir Hardie being among the speakers. The L.R.C. resulted from this meeting, but was hardly formed in time to fight the 1900 election efficiently. It endorsed fifteen candidatures, Richard Bell being returned for Derby, and Hardie for Merthyr, and Shackleton being subsequently returned unopposed at Clitheroe.

CHAPTER II

THE UNIONISTS AS THE FRIENDS OF LABOUR

THE Unionist Party sometimes claims to be the friend of Labour, but as it more often claims to be the friend of Property, promising to safeguard property interests and resist "spoliation," the Labour Party regards this dual claim with contempt; Labour's axiom being that as things are at present the interests of worker and capitalist are necessarily opposed. No party can serve two masters, and the Conservatives have certainly shown us that they can cling to the one, but they despise the other—and the other's name is not Mammon.

The Radicals sometimes charge them with never passing social measures. That is untrue. It is true, however, that they do as little as they dare, and as ineffectually as possible. They have had ten years of office. One of their organs spoke of them as the finest fighting machine seen in politics within living memory. Under Lord Salisbury in 1895 their

clear majority over Radicals, Labour, and Nationalists combined was 152. Even after 1900 it was 134, and to the last it seldom sank below 84. It would therefore be preposterous for these "Friends of the People" to pretend that they were unable by reason of obstruction or any other cause to pass what social legislation they liked. According to their own press they were "the strongest government of modern times." They were assuredly masters in their own house. In 1895 they came in largely upon a promise of old age pensions, upon a programme which included housing, poor law reforms, and workmen's compensation. In addition to this there were countless individual promises of social legislation, promises forced upon candidates by the growing labour demand.

In ten years this strongest of all governments has only fulfilled these countless pledges by passing an inadequate measure for workmen's compensation and at the last hour appointing a commission, "To enquire into the Poor Law." Perhaps one should add the much controverted Education Acts, as with all their faults they have done something to unify education. I say nothing of the war waged ostensibly in the interests of workmen, actually in the interests of cosmopolitan financiers. The least that could have been done if the late Govern-

ment had really had the interests of England at heart, would have been to nationalise the South African gold mines. The Conservative record at home is barren enough, without reference to Chinese Labour and the rest. Perhaps it would be unfair to blame the Conservatives particularly for the Law Lords' decision in the matter of Taff Vale; they might, at least, as "Friends of Labour," have so amended the law as to restore to Trade Unions their ordinary and traditional rights. In 1903 the L.R.C. introduced a bill with the above object. It was officially opposed by the Tory Government, and defeated. In 1904 a bill was again introduced, and although not officially opposed, Mr Balfour tried to destroy it, and two hundred Tories voted against it. Carried by a small majority, in 1905 it was re-read and again passed in the face of Tory hostility, being opposed by fifteen Conservative ministers. The Liberal record in this matter is infinitely better.

Then again it may be asked, Why have not these Friends of Labour increased the power of the State to arbitrate in Trade disputes? Why did they refuse to use the little power they had to mitigate the cruel struggle waged between the Tory Lord Penhryn and his men?

On 4th April 1894 Mr Chamberlain supported an old age pensions bill, not because

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he approved its details, but because he could not "lose a chance of supporting the sacred principle involved in it."

On 5th September 1894 he attacked the Liberal Government for voting against pensions. In 1895 the Tories were returned largely upon the old age pension pledge. Mr Chamberlain as spokesman of the scheme had said: "My proposal, broadly, is so simple, that any one can understand it." On 26th June 1896 they found it "most complicated," and he said that he had never promised anything at all. On 23rd March 1898 the Tory Government opposed the very same old age pensions bill for which Mr Chamberlain had voted in 1894, and in July the Commission reports, "Nothing can be done"; workmen must trust in "prudence, self-reliance, and self-denial."

Then, again, there was the unemployed bill, squeezed out of a reluctant government by labour pressure. In its original form the measure would have been valuable, for it made some provision out of the public treasury for the working of the scheme; but the pressure of Capitalism was stronger than the pressure of Labour. (There were only two or three Independents in the House, and every Liberal Front Bencher save one was conspicuous by his absence). The public funds clause was left out and the bill rendered ineffectual. The

Prime Minister, himself chiefly responsible for this alteration, had the impudence to tell the unemployed later, that he regretted its not passing in its original form. I shall have something further to say about this comfortable philosopher's speech to hungry men, but for the present let us examine the Tory record in the past. Unionists sometimes tell us that although this ten years' Government, with its unprecedented opportunities, has done practically nothing for Labour, the earlier traditions of the Party compare very favourably with the record of Liberalism.

No doubt this is true, but what a standard of comparison! [If you look carefully over the Tory record of a hundred years, you find stray fragments of social legislation.] Lord Shaftesbury's Act was excellent, but the bitter opposition to it was by no means all Radical. The Tories can claim the earlier Factory Acts, a Truck Act, a Public Health Act, Compensation for Workmen's Act, Free Education, although they opposed this latter measure with violence for many years, but these are somewhat meagre performances compared with their lavish promises and unparalleled chances. Labour men rightly ask, "What is the use of squeezing out of a grudging and inefficient party, measures which one could pass much more effectually for oneself?" This argument

gains in weight year by year, as year by year the Unionists become less the Party of the old-fashioned landlords and more and more the Party of the landlord and the plutocrat. The Tory flooding of the Peerage with blatant money-lords is a proof that they care less about aristocracy than about the Golden Calf. The Tory candidate of the future is a gentleman of the type of Dr Rutherford Harris. Both the historic Parties have lost their political faith. The old Tory squire with his prejudices against Manchester greed, and the old Tory philosopher with his theory of a civilised State, have gone down before the onrush of the plutocracy. Toryism of the old school had some sympathy — though little enough — with Labour. Modern Unionism would seem to have none, unless it sees in sympathy a chance of a smart deal.

The old Tories were feudalistic. They honestly believed in the "rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate"; and so long as the poor man gave no trouble and remained at the gate, the best type of Tory lord would feed him, clothe him, and house him decently: unfortunately the landlords, as Ruskin has shown, were mostly of the worst type; still, at best Toryism stood for benevolent despotism. Nowadays it stands for a money despotism which knows no benevolence.

The Tory philosophy recognised aristocratic governors and plebeian governed, but the aristocrats must at least be responsible for the life and safety of every man, woman, and child in the nation. In return for this grandmotherly care, the people must remain "the humble poor" and not start opinions of their own. ¶The Radicals believed in giving every man a chance. Each man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost. ¶The Tory policy at best was a policy of food without freedom. The Liberal policy was a policy of freedom without food—freedom to sink or to swim. In so far as the Conservatives had a constructive theory of the nation, which left no single human being out of account, they were nearer to modern Socialism than Cobden and Bright, and, for the matter of that, Gladstone. Disraeli's Factory Inspection, Health Acts, Housing Acts, Pure Food Acts, all these were good Toryism, but his extension of the franchise was indefensible from the Tory standpoint; no theory of Tory development can well be made to cover it, and from that point the Conservative philosophy began to crumple up. Lord Randolph Churchill's Tory democracy was in its social constructive aspects good Conservative policy, but in its democratic aspects it was a continuation of this cynical opportunism, and with the advent of Chamberlain the crumpling up

process was complete, and the Party has drifted into a muddle of opposing and contradictory practices. They may now occasionally be forced to bid for Labour Support by promising socialistic measures, and even possibly by passing them in mutilated form, but they will do it not as the expression of a definite political faith, but grudgingly and without reason.

And now finally let us consider a little more closely Mr Balfour's speech to the unemployed; for it was wonderfully candid, and from it we shall learn the conclusion of the whole matter.

The deputation urged the necessity for an Autumn Session, not seeming to remember the advent of the shooting season. Mr Balfour said: "Some gentlemen—I am not at all sure that Mr Crooks is one of them, but I won't ask him to express an opinion on this point now—some gentlemen here have an idea that Parliament is an admirable body for devising expedients for meeting the public needs as they arise. I do not think that that is a true view of what Parliament either has done or can do. A body of six hundred and seventy gentlemen, however devoted to their public business, is not a body which can, without guidance, agree upon a scheme dealing with problems of extraordinary difficulty; and not only do I think they would be incapable of

solving the problem, if it were simply thrown down on the table before them, as seems to be suggested, but I frankly admit that, if they were called together at the present time I think they would devote their energies to something very far removed from the interests of the unemployed in East London." Cynical but candid enough, in all conscience! Well, it is precisely because the six hundred and seventy gentlemen we send to Parliament devote their energies to something very far removed from the interests of the working classes, whether employed or unemployed, that Labour has decided that a period of unemployment would be best suited to them, and is determined in future to return its own men and to carry out its own measures.

CHAPTER III

THE LIBERALS AS FRIENDS OF LABOUR

SINCE the days when it was fashionable in Radical circles to denounce a social reform programme as a "policy of sewage," to what extent have Liberals shown themselves to be Friends of Labour?

No one can, I think, deny that in the matter of electoral as distinct from economic reform the Liberal has been a more willing servant of the public than the Tory. In the last chapter I suggest that electoral extensions were not within the true line of Tory advance, whereas there was nothing in Liberal philosophy to hinder their advocacy. Whether or no the Radicals have actually done as much as the Conservatives in this direction is, of course, another story. In the eighteenth century the Tories had proposed a resolution in favour of electoral reform, opposed alike by their own people and Liberals. The great Liberal Reform Bill of 1832 was the charter of the middle classes; it was opposed by the Tories. Later, an

attempt was made to lower electoral qualification, but the attempt, if successful, would not have enfranchised the labourer. In 1866 Gladstone introduced a moderate Reform Bill, which was defeated by Tory hostility and the desertion of a number of Liberals. In 1867 Disraeli took over what was practically the same measure, and with the help of Radicals carried almost the present household and lodgers suffrage, in the face of considerable Tory opposition. The late Lord Salisbury described it as a "Conservative surrender." In 1871 Gladstone carried the Ballot Act, and in 1884 the Franchise Act, which extended the franchise to the agricultural labourer. This was not opposed by Tories, but they insisted on a concurrent scheme of redistribution, which was conceded.

Now, if the pressing need of the moment were an extension of the suffrage, or a further increase of political machinery, the Liberals could more honestly give these things than the Unionists, but time spent in wrangling over such a policy would be time lost to the cause of practical collectivism. Let the electorate learn to use the power it has, and it will then be time enough to urge electoral extensions. While, therefore, the L.R.C. would welcome adult suffrage, payment of members, etc.—and these are actually planks in its plat-

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form—it does not consider them of so paramount importance as the taxing of unearned incomes, the feeding of school children, reform of the Poor Law, old age pensions, and similar legislative proposals.

A little group of collectivist Liberals, whose programme is to be found in the shilling pamphlet, "Towards a Social Policy" (Alston Rivers), may up to a certain point co-operate with the Labour group. They have no definite conception of a socialist commonwealth; their actions may therefore be contradictory and inconsistent. Their real difficulty, however, will not be to square their constructive policy with the Cobden, Bright, Gladstone tradition, but to oppose themselves successfully to the immense class interest of the Radical capitalists and employers: for it is still true that while Toryism stands for landed interests (and, more recently, a New Plutocracy) and labour for the working class, the compact Liberal majority stands largely for the vested interest of the middle class. The present Government, urged forward by Socialistic Liberals and Socialist Labour men, may give us certain really constructive measures, yet, although Liberalism in the country often represents the poor and oppressed, it as often in the towns represents Messrs Brunner, Mond & Co., and pious gentlemen of the type of Lord Overtoun, who

have gained for themselves an unenviable notoriety in the treatment of their work people. This capitalist interest, together with the fact of the Manchester tradition, goes far to explain the hostility of certain members of the present Administration to so much of Labour's constructive policy. Still, the Liberal Collectivist group, though small in point of numbers, contains men of great ability and some courage, and we may well expect some measure of support from them.

Many Liberals are pledged to old age pensions, but their Chief declares the matter to be at present not practical politics. I remember the storm of Radical indignation, with which the late Government was greeted when it broke its pledge in this matter. The Liberals might adopt as their motto the lines of a popular song—

“What's very bad form in other men
Is very good form in me.”

For the last Liberal administration was returned in 1892 largely on a promise of payment of members, and many other pledges of the Newcastle programme. After waiting a year, three Radical members, astonished that no attempt had been made to redeem the payment of members pledge, urged the Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer to include it in the Budget, thus avoiding the interference of the House of Lords, that so convenient stalking horse for all Radical delinquencies; this he absolutely refused to do. Is it then mere cynicism to mistrust the very people who but a few years since were returned to power on a programme which they hardly attempted to carry out? Compare the famous Newcastle programme with the quarter sheet of note-paper policy of the Albert Hall speech, that epoch-making utterance over which leagues of young Liberals gush tears of gratitude, and at which Tory papers tremble as if they had seen red caps, and guns and barricades. Now, what did Sir Henry promise? For the unemployed, sympathy, as deep as Balfour's; something about the Poor Law, the Tories having made this imperative; a promise — Sir Henry Fowler, followed by half the Cabinet, will do his best to see that it is not kept—that the L.G.B. will help and not hinder municipalities, and yet another promise—of real value if it means anything, and if Mr Asquith and another section of the Cabinet will allow it to be redeemed—that Trade Union Law shall be amended. If Sir Henry is unable to keep any of these pledges, then at least we may always herald in the revolution by an enquiry into the condition of our canals! Surely, in face of

this stupendous programme, working men are mad to want a party of their own!

After such a pronouncement, what can an extremist Liberal collectivist do but proclaim himself a "humble follower of my chief." Asked for a pledge that he would vote with Labour against his government if the Liberals refused to tax unearned income, help the unemployed, or feed starving children, this same "Socialistic" candidate was unable to give it! He did not know what their majority would be. Supposing his adverse vote had turned out these Tribunes of the People; gone—for ever, all hope of an enquiry into our canals, etc. ! What is the use of candidates pledging themselves to vote for governmental Socialist bills, with the remote chance that the Government will give them the opportunity of carrying out their pledges? *How many collectivist Liberals pledged themselves to vote against their Government, if, after a reasonable period, it had not introduced Labour measures?*

Mr Asquith is opposed to many of Labour's demands, and is remembered as the instigator of the Featherstone tragedy, when the soldiers fired upon an unarmed crowd of English people, killing several (they were not Irish or Russians, so what matter?). He has promised an extension of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

Speaking at Morley, 2nd February, he promised that it should be put on a simple and satisfactory footing, so that there should be no man employed in any industry who receives damage to life or limb or health through the conditions of his trade who should not be able by a simple, inexpensive, and equitable method to recover compensation. Neither his efforts nor those of the late Government have in the past been particularly successful in this direction, but this speech shows a more workmanlike spirit, and this time he may really mean business.

It is not my purpose to examine the Liberal record of the past in this matter of social legislation. It would not be fair to do so: I am told they have changed so much lately and are shaking themselves free of the individualism of Cobden, Bright, and Gladstone. If one is a little sceptical about this it is because even the "collectivists" among them speak of Cobden and Bright with almost idolatrous emotion, and to criticise Gladstone seems to them an act of supreme treachery. Yet Gladstone hated all they are supposed to care for. Of Socialism he wrote that he wished well to efforts on behalf of individual freedom and independence as opposed to what is termed Collectivism (Pref. "Essays in Liberalism"). The fact is Liberalism, just like its rival, is now without a philosophy of politics. The facts have been too strong

for its theory and have destroyed it. Liberal writers admit this: "Liberals have often approached recent proposals in an opportunist spirit without grasping and applying any principle calculated to show which should be taken and which should be left" ("Essays in Liberalism," p. 102, 1897).

While referring to these Liberal essays it is worth while recalling what these young writers, now becoming the progressive wing of the Liberal Party, considered the *burning questions* of 1897. Socialists then as now were insisting upon a minimum wage, minimum hours, relief of the unemployed, old age pensions, taxing ill-gotten incomes, etc., but these comfortably off young Oxford Radicals consider *that the burning questions of the hour are the House of Lords, the Liquor Traffic, and Disestablishment!* (Pref. xii., xiii.)

Liberals are now welcoming the independent Labour members with effusion. Why then, if they are the friends of collectivism and believers in an independent Labour section, did they break their pledge to the workmen of Southampton by running a candidate? Why did they oppose Taylor at Chester-le-Street, Keir Hardie at Merthyr, Jowett at Bradford, Stranks at Croydon, Fox at Leeds, Williams at Huddersfield, Proctor at Grimsby, Wilkie at Dundee, Stanton Coit at Wakefield, Smith at Wigan,

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Rose at Stockton, Hobson at Rochdale, Williams and Gribble at Northampton, Hyndman at Burnley, and every single Labour man in Scotland?

Well, they have now their huge majority, and no nonsense about the powerful Tory Opposition or the House of Lords will avail them. Their actions will be to the electorate as clear an object lesson as were the actions of that—until their advent—strongest Government of modern times. The Unionists have been “snowed under,” but the recent General Election is not the last of the snow-storms.

I referred to Lord Overtoun in not very complimentary fashion, but, considering that the last Liberal Government could hardly have appeared on any Christian Social Union list as a “Fair House,” he is in good Radical company.

Now, it may seem churlish to dwell upon the failures of one's adversaries, but it is necessary in order to explain why Labour holds Liberalism in such deep distrust. If Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is going to regenerate England (from the House of Lords or otherwise), if he is going to solve the unemployed problem, why, Labour asks, did he when last in power refuse to do anything for the unemployed when the problem was infinitely more pressing than at present? Here are some of the names¹ of the

¹ See *Clarion*, 1906.

Liberals who agreed with Mr Gladstone, when the unemployed problem was tragically acute, that "the Government were not aware of anything in the present depression that indicated any duty on their part, except the duty of considering any proposal which might be made, etc."

Right Hon. Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

Right Hon. H. H. Asquith.

Right Hon. James Bryce.

Sydney C. Buxton.

Richard K. Causton.

Right Hon. H. H. Fowler.

R. B. Haldane.

Right Hon. Herbert J. Gladstone.

Sir Edward Grey.

Hon. Edw. Marjoribanks (Lord Tweedmouth).

Right Hon. John Morley.

Edmund Robertson.

Hon. C. R. Spencer.

D. Lloyd George.

J. E. Ellis.

T. Shaw.

Captain J. Sinclair.

All of the above are members of the present Radical Government. None of them, if we except Mr Buxton, would seem to have repented of their former indifference.

Why, if they are so miraculously different now from then, had Mr Keir Hardie to write to the *Times* last session to complain of the shameful way in which the Radical Opposition were wasting their opportunities? Why did they burk discussion on such subjects as the provision of meals for starving children, the taxing of unearned incomes, unemployment, old age pensions? He concludes: "Should it happen that none of the matters mentioned above are discussed this session upon the only opportunities upon which there are likely to be openings—private members' evenings—we shall have the Liberal Opposition to thank for it."

On the occasion of the second reading of the Unemployed Bill, there were no fewer than one hundred and fifty-one Liberal abstentions. According to Mr Gavan Duffy, whilst the division was being taken three Liberal M.P.'s were entertaining the Pigmies with strawberries and cream on the terrace of the House of Commons. Can it be that it would not *pay* rich employers to solve the problem of unemployment? Mr Charles Booth, one of Mr Chamberlain's Tariff commissioners and one of our greatest economists, tells us that "our modern system will not work without some unemployed margin—some reserve of labour. Thus it will be seen that Capital actually flourishes on the unemployed; for wealth is rooted in Labour's poverty,

and the workers are mere counters in Mammon's game of greed. Capital, therefore, has need of the unemployed to maintain its supremacy over Labour."¹

The Liberal Government are going to encourage municipal trading. Very well. Let us see how Liberals encouraged it during the last session. The passing of the second reading of the London and District Electric Power Company Bill was achieved by the votes of Liberals. Two years consecutively, 1902-3, the L.C.C. promoted bills in Parliament with the object of securing the power to supply light to Londoners. The House was too busy to discuss the question. Later in 1903 the L.C.C. agreed to withdraw its bill, as the Government would introduce one along the same lines. This bill was actually introduced 1903-4-5, but failed to pass. By this time the syndicate was ready, and a bill was put forward embodying the amazing proposal to over-ride the whole area of the city, county, boroughs and district of London with a private electric supply, to supplant all existing supplies, and to take away for all time the power from the metropolis of Britain to supply itself with electricity. The chief promoters were:

1. Sir George Newnes, Liberal M.P. for Swansea Town.

¹ Gavan Duffy's "Capitalism in Parliament"—I.L.P., 10 Red Court, E.C., 1d.—to which I am indebted for following analysis of Electric Trusts Bill of last session.

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2. Herbert Gladstone, Liberal M.P., Leeds, W., Chief Liberal Whip.
3. Sir James Joicey, Liberal M.P., Chester-le-Street, Durham.
4. H. J. Tennant, Liberal M.P., Berwick. Mr Asquith's brother-in-law.
5. R. Spence Watson, many years President National Liberal Federation.

"Sir George Newnes has so clear a conception of his Parliamentary duties that he actually walked into the Division Lobby and voted in support of this Bill in which he was pecuniarily interested and which was to confer upon him in his capacity of company promoter enormous powers detrimental to the public good. Mr H. H. Asquith's brother-in-law acted as teller for the Bill. These good disciples of Progress and Reform—custodians of public morality—were part of a promoting syndicate, each member of which had planked down £500 in order to get the Bill rushed through Parliament. Had they succeeded, it was proposed to form a Company with a capital of £5,000,000 and proceed to exploit London."

Among the voters for this monopoly figures Mr Thomas Burt, Labour Liberal member for Morpeth !

In the *Daily News* of 8th July 1905, W.H.M. affirms:—"There was something much more than the ordinary means of informing Members of Parliament of the facts about a complicated industrial struggle. Here you had a small body of commercial magnates freely distributing contracts in an enormous enterprise which

has not yet touched the threshold of its career, and then swooping down on Parliament with all the prestige afforded by the presence within the House of great capitalists whose interests and hopes were bound up in the project."

What were the occupations of some of those who voted for the bill?

Lawyers	41	Salaried Servants	10
Coal and Iron Owners	15	Financiers	9
Landlords	12	Bankers	7
Shipbuilders & Owners	9	Army Officers	27
Contractors	3	Gentlemen	14
Barristers	38	Press	9
Solicitors	3	Stockbrokers	4
Manufacturers	21	Brewers	2

Is Labour's distrust of the Liberals entirely unfounded?

Perhaps the *Pall Mall Gazette* correspondent (30th January 1906) is not far wrong when he says:—

"Taking everything into consideration it is quite clear that the Labour vote is as much anti-Liberal as anti-Conservative, and the probability is that as time goes on it will completely undermine the Liberal Party. A few years hence we are likely to have a constitutional Party on the one hand and a Labour Socialist organisation on the other."

If this should come to pass, the Liberal Chief Secretary for Ireland need not have been so alarmed at the advent of a third party. He had always been accustomed to two: why should

a third spring into being? There may ultimately be but two, after all.

Speaking at Liverpool, 10th February 1894, he said he could conceive no greater misfortune for the working classes of this country than that they should be led away into organising themselves into a distinct political party. The constitution had been built upon the hypothesis of there being two great parties; and rather than this condition should be superseded, he would prefer to see the workmen enter the ranks of Toryism.

How pleased Mr Bryce must be at the turn affairs have taken!

CHAPTER IV

LABOUR'S PROGRAMME. IS IT PRACTICAL POLITICS?

IN the preceding chapters I have attempted to give the genesis of the Labour Party, and to sketch some of its reasons for suspicion of the two historic parties, and its consequent policy of independence. The aim of the first Labour men was the safeguarding of Trade Unionism, which resulted in the early days of the Unions in the return of two or three members, who soon lost all identity and were swallowed up in the ocean of orthodox Liberalism. For this earlier policy has been substituted a new creed, Socialism, and a new policy, Independence, resulting in the return of twenty-nine L.R.C. men, and two miners' representatives: in all, thirty-one members pledged to independence, the dominant note of the group being collectivism.

The new group may reckon upon the support of two or three Tory democrats, two or three Liberal Labour men, and a larger body of Liberal collectivists. In the matter of Trade

Union Law amendment their numbers will be augmented by the full Liberal Labour vote, and the votes of the miners' members and of a great number of Liberal and Tory sympathisers. Should the Government, pledged to drastic legislation on the subject, introduce an adequate measure, it will, of course, receive the full support of the Labour group.

What then, it may be asked, are the further demands of these thirty-one Independent members?

They met in council on the eve of the opening of Parliament for final settlement of their immediate policy; the following programme is taken from the manifestoes of the L.R.C., the Trade Union Parliamentary Committee, the Independent Labour Party, the resolutions of the Fabian Society, Trades Councils' questions to candidates, and the speeches and addresses of Labour members. It emphasises those points on which these bodies and individuals are practically unanimous, points to be pressed forward by the Labour group.

Their legislative policy will include the taxation of Mining Royalties, Secular Education, extension of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, general encouragement of Municipal activity, amendment of the Compensation to Workmen Act, restriction of Women's Labour, humanising the Poor Law, Municipal Drink, Taxation of

Land Values (preferably a tax or buy scheme), Payment of Members, public payment of Returning Officer's fees, and Adult Suffrage.

Labour will urge the consideration of any of the foregoing questions wherever and whenever an opening occurs, but in all probability its especial business for the next two or three sessions will be to press forward the following fourfold programme:—

1. Amendment of Trade Union Law.
2. Amendment of the Unemployed Act.
3. National Feeding of School Children.
4. Old Age Pensions,

finances to be found by a graduated tax on unearned incomes.

1. *Amendment of Trade Union Law.*—The Taff Vale decision was outlined in the first chapter. An attempt will probably be made to restore the anti-Taff Vale status and to put it on an assured legal footing.

2. *Amendment of Unemployed Workmen Act.*—"In attempting to deal with this unemployed problem, it must be admitted that whatever is done under a competitive form of society can only be palliative and not permanently remedial. In fact, the commercial

classes must be told, if they do not know it already, that to a great extent the existence of an unemployed contingent of workers is a necessary corollary of the existing almost unrestricted competitive system, in which production for profit by a class is carried on irrespective of the social consequences to the community and the producers. And whilst keeping in view and adopting all practical remedies, the fact must not be lost sight of that the basis of our social, economic, and industrial life is anarchic and unsound, and must be either slowly or suddenly revolutionised."—Mr John Burns, *Nineteenth Century*, December 1892.

Mr Burns' main contention is admitted to be sound by our political economists, and is not forgotten by Socialists in suggesting legislation on the subject.

The Fabian Society, which helped to form the L.R.C., and which is represented on it, reports as follows to the International Workers' Congress, London, 1896 :—

"That the existence of a class of unemployed willing but unable to find work is a necessary result of the present industrial system, in which every improvement in machinery throws fresh masses of men out of work, and the competition of capitalists

for the market produces recurring commercial crises ;

That, consequently, unemployment can only be abolished with the complete abolition of the competitive system, and can only be limited in proportion as order and regulation are introduced into the present competitive confusion ;

“ That while this process of evolution towards the co-operative state is proceeding, the following measures are urgently demanded to relieve the pressure on the industrial market :

“ The Eight Hours Day ;

“ The Prohibition of Child Labour under Sixteen ;

“ The Manufacture by the Government and Municipality of all commodities required by them ;

“ The Extension of Municipal Activity to the complete supply of all common services and the provision of healthy dwellings for the workers ;

“ The Undertaking of useful Public Works in special cases.”

It is now coming to be admitted that only through the reabsorption of the unemployed by gradual increase of normal and regular pro-

ductive work can the problem be finally settled. This cannot be effected excepting

1. By a reduction of hours, abolition in so far as is possible of piecework, by old age pensions, prohibition of child labour, etc. ; and

2. By an extension of industrial enterprise on the part of the State and the municipalities, these public bodies attracting to their service the finest skilled labour, and thereby compelling private capitalists to settle the question of the genuine out-of-works for themselves, for under these circumstances they will have to draw upon the second best labour (now periodically out of employ) in order to carry on their work.

There will, of course, remain, perhaps always, certainly for two or three generations, a considerable number of persons who are in their present state unemployable through (a) physical unfitness, (b) their preference for an idle life. The community will be obliged to support, or partially support, Class A, while Class B will have to be dealt with in more drastic fashion.

Now, although Labour members would urge some such scheme as the foregoing as the most business-like solution of the problem, they are aware that Englishmen are not business-like and put down as "dangerous" and "going too far" any practical and long-sighted scheme. As therefore our countrymen object to going to the root of the matter, the Labour members

urged the late Government to bring in an Unemployed Workmen's Act, which should provide work—as productive a type of work as possible—for the unemployed, and should finance it by a considerable grant-in-aid from the National Exchequer. The final form of this Act was like the proverbial Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out, for the Unionists shrank at the last moment from providing a public fund, and left the finances of the scheme to the spasmodic charities of private philanthropists, thereby rendering it almost entirely ineffectual. The Labour group will therefore press for the effectualising of the Act by public provision of the necessary funds.

The danger at present is that as the President of the Local Government Board has declared himself against this “mischievous” Act, the Government may use his hostility as excuse for inaction. The Labour members will require from him either acquiescence in the proposed amendment or an immediate and practical alternative, which, while giving some present relief to genuine “out-of-works,” would carry with it a more permanent solution of the unemployed difficulty than could be hoped for by amending the present Act.

Can we afford such grants-in-aid? Surely the real question is, Can we afford the present anarchy, which drives men to pauperism, en-

courages vagrancy, fills our unproductive work-houses and crime-producing prisons? We have ultimately to support these men, when our system, or want of system, has broken their spirit and converted the unemployed into the unemployable. Even on the merest grounds of expediency, why not help them at once, when help is of some use, to get back into useful and productive work?

3. *Free Feeding of School Children.*—In London alone an expert authority has estimated the number of underfed children at 122,000.¹ There is a provided school in Lambeth where 90 *per cent.* of the children were unfit for work because of their physical condition. Not only does poverty deprive the children of food, but sometimes the parents are ignorant and overworked, and for one cause or another are unable to give their children the kind of food best calculated to nourish them.

"The Consequences of Underfeeding."

"It cannot be doubted that the social effects of underfeeding during the years of school attendance are marked

¹ Cf. "After Bread, Education" (Fabian Society, Clement's Inn, W.C., 1d.); also interesting article in *Justice*, 3rd February 1906, on the "Cantines Scolaires" of Paris.

and disastrous. It is the least part of the evil that all teachers testify to the impossibility of teaching an underfed child, that no effective physical training is possible without proper nourishment, that Mr Legge has testified before the Royal Commission that 'underfed children are positively injured by even light exercises,' and Dr Dukes that 'bare subsistence diet becomes starvation diet when mental and bodily work are added.' The worst and most menacing feature is the irrefutable evidence of physical unfitness among the working classes."¹

bourgeois
imperialist
notions are

It is obviously both ridiculous and cruel to compel children to work on an empty stomach. The necessary corollary of free compulsory education is free compulsory meals. We cannot afford to let our children grow up enfeebled and diseased! They are our future wealth producers and soldiers. They must at all costs be fed. Nor can we afford to pay much attention to the argument about "breaking up the home," we, who know the *kind of thing called home* that so many of the children come from, and the kind of person who brings forward the argument, which he has had leisure to elaborate by carefully "breaking up" his own home, and packing the boys off to Eton. There are, of course, some splendid homes, even in slum districts: but is it seriously contended that a hurried breakfast before school and a rush home for "a bite of something" at

¹ "After Bread, Education."

midday is the essential of a good home feeding? Give the over-burdened women less to do; let them club together in a community (as they actually do, where *part* of the school meal money is raised through local rates) to provide cleaner, more wholesome, and more nourishing meals in the large, bright common room of the school for their children, and they will have a better home for the children to return to after school.

But can the thing be done? Of course it can. *It is actually being done* at the present moment in many countries, not unlike our own. You can do it in an unbusiness-like way and with great expense, untold trouble, and much annoyance to parents by feeding only starving children, and then trying to recover the cost from the parents. You can do it more effectually by making school meals a part of school routine for all children, and finding the money from a small and differentiated local rate (in order to make the people feel their direct responsibility), aided by a substantial Government grant.

This is by far the best method, but if it is thought to go too much to the roots of the matter and to be too thorough a solution, then, at least, we should adopt the Paris plan of the "Cantines Scolaires."

"All readers of *Justice* and the *Social Democrat* should be well acquainted with the Paris Cantine Scolaires, where every child sits with its professors and teachers, and eats the same meal. This meal costs the master and the pupils three halfpence per head when they can afford to pay, and nothing at all if they are too poor to pay. Thus in the poorest quarters of Paris only 20 per cent. of the meals are paid for by the consumers, and in the wealthy districts as many as 60 per cent. But whether the three halfpence be forthcoming or not, each child has its meal. Further, the meal is well, even artistically, cooked, and each child is taught to keep itself clean, to use a serviette—such a strange thing in England that we have not even got an English word for it, and are obliged to talk about table-napkins. It is to be hoped that the County Councillors will endeavour to learn how this is done, and get all the details of medical control which is combined with the feeding and the clothing of the children—for there are no ragged and dirty children to be seen in the Paris schools."¹

"Free Feeding" is therefore no wild Utopian dream, but an accomplished fact in many Continental cities; nor do the people who have studied these cities bring back any lurid tales of broken homes and irresponsible parents. In conclusion, let me quote once more from the Fabian tract on this subject.

"Sooner or later, in one way or another, the State must always suffer for underfeeding its children. If a child grow up underfed the chances are heavy that it grows up an inefficient worker and a bad citizen. Unable to earn his

¹ *Justice*, 3rd February 1906.

living by adequate labour, such a man drifts into the workhouse, the prison, or the asylum, where the State is obliged to support him. And this direct charge is by no means the heaviest price that the community has to pay. It has to pay indefinitely in the demoralisation of its citizens, in the consequent instability of their character and inefficiency of their work. Such men fall an easy prey to drink, partly because their characters are weakened, partly because the underfed are notoriously susceptible to alcohol. Thus the price goes on mounting up till we have to pay the sum for which we could feed decently every child in the islands with something like 400 or 500 per cent. interest."

4. *Old Age Pensions*.—One is not impressed by the logicity of a nation that makes provision for its war veterans, and neglects its veterans of peace. Valuable as is the soldier, he is surely not more essential to the country than the productive labourer?

Most people, however, are agreed that it would be desirable for England, not to embark upon some wild, impracticable scheme, but to bring herself in line with the most intelligent countries of the world in this matter. Those who are not already convinced should study the census of 1891, with its record of over

376,427 aged persons driven to accept Poor Law relief. Two in every seven persons of over sixty-five years of age! Besides these, there is a very large number of old people who suffer untold privations, rather than become paupers. Death from starvation is *no uncommon thing* among the aged, who prefer death to the stigma of pauperism. These are facts which the authorities recognise, and to which I myself and many other parish priests can testify. Private institutions and voluntary charity, excellent up to a certain point as have been their efforts, are found quite inadequate to cope with this evil. England as a nation must face this problem of the aged and enfeebled; so alone can it be solved.

What then can be done? The Fabian Society, after careful study of what is actually being done in other countries, suggests the following scheme.¹

1. That the County Councils be the statutory authority for the administration of the scheme.
2. That the County Councils be authorised to appoint a statutory committee, and such sub-committees as may appear necessary for dealing with the scheme.

¹ "Old Age Pensions" (Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, W.C., 1d.).

3. That age be the sole test of an applicant's qualification.
4. That each applicant should forward a birth certificate, or other proof of age, accompanied by verification from two responsible householders to the offices instituted by the County Council.
5. That the pension be paid by the Councils through the medium of the Post Office.
6. That the age-qualification be sixty-five,¹ and that the pension be one of 7s. per week for town residents, and 5s. per week for rural residents.
7. That the total amount of the pensions be paid by the Treasury, and the cost of administration be thrown on the county rate.

COST.

“It is impossible to form any reliable estimate of the cost of a scheme of pensions. The possible number of claimants is an unknown one. But the question is not serious, for if

¹ Many men are now thrown out of employment as too old at 45 ; but obviously you cannot give pensions at that age. Prohibition of child labour, restriction of women's labour, shorter hours, etc. would lessen this evil.

the Government is prepared to consider a plan involving an annual expenditure of at least five or six millions, the extra cost necessary to make the scheme effective will not be overwhelming. In any case, the advantages of securing a certainty of food and clothing to our aged people are worth an expenditure of considerably less than one-half of what we now pay for our Army and Navy. Our soldiers and sailors are entitled to receive at the end of a certain number of years a pension, determined by the length of their service. A nation whose annual income is £1,700,000,000 can afford to pension its fighters. Why does it think that it can afford *not* to pension its workers?"

It will now be asked: How are we to raise money to finance these admittedly costly schemes?

We must always remember that that particular kind of irresponsible almsgiving to vagrants and cadgers and to unemployed persons, the genuine of whom we shall *never have a means of testing till proper work is provided for all who really want it*,—the kind of alms which curseth him that gives and him that takes, is at present a great strain, and one which is felt by us to be morally almost compulsory and yet futile. This particular form

of private doles will no longer be necessary: and our incomes will be so much the richer by its abolition.

Then, again, a sound constructive policy which will reduce unproductive expenditure on work-houses and prisons, and will equip our at present enfeebled and sometimes half-starved children for the battle of life, so that they will not drift into the ranks of the diseased or unemployable, and so become a burden on the ratepayer, may not in the long run turn out such a bad investment. Yet the schemes must, of course, immediately depend on the raising of revenue; and although it is wise to derive a certain proportion from local rating, that localities may feel their direct responsibility by such a contribution, yet this proportion must be very small, considering the outcry in certain quarters against high rates. These schemes must be for the most part nationally financed: the money must be raised by a further increase of the Death Duties, and a substantial graduated tax on all unearned incomes.

CHAPTER V

ARE THE LABOUR DEMANDS SPOILIATION?

It has been pointed out that the scheme of social reconstruction sketched in the last chapter would not in the long run cost the nation anything like the sum immediately spent on it. From the total must be deducted a considerable figure at present spent on prisons, workhouses, and charities, and that very considerable increase in wealth which will be the result of raising a younger generation of healthy and vigorous producers. We must also remember, as a set-off against expenditure demanded by the new party, that among Labour's "planks" is the encouragement of further municipal trading, enterprise which in spite of unscrupulous and interested attacks has been conclusively proved directly to increase corporate wealth and indirectly to lower rates.

I have not suggested as a source of revenue decreased expenditure on Army or Navy, as although many Labour men advocate this, the Party is not unanimous on the point, and

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many Socialists feel that it is not decrease of the sums now voted, but increase of wisdom in the spending that is at present required.

There is, however, no doubt that new sources of revenue must be found if Labour's demand is to be met. Such revenue should chiefly be drawn from

1. A tax on Urban Land.
2. Increased Death Duties.
3. Graduation and differentiation of the Income-tax, so that it shall press more heavily on large and unearned incomes, and less heavily on small and earned ones.

To quote the very moderate pamphlet of the Liberal collectivists: "Those who doubt the feasibility of a progressive income-tax, either on economic or on administrative grounds, may be reminded that Prussia, Austria, and Holland, and certain American States have for some time applied a system which is also in operation in Australia and New Zealand". ("Towards a Social Policy"). No doubt such taxes would be inconsiderable at first, but an increasing Labour Party in the House would see to it that they would not long remain inconsiderable. It is sometimes objected that unless the tax were kept within moderate bounds it

would tend to discourage private enterprise and to drive capital abroad. If for capital we substitute capitalist, the objection has weight, but it only serves to emphasise the importance of the vigorous economic policy of the Socialist as against the timid policy of the Liberal collectivist, for if such taxes *discourage* private enterprise, and our law-makers are not at the same time *encouraging* State enterprise, we may lose nationally as much as we stand to gain. The State and municipalities must be prepared to themselves become capitalists, trading, and engaging in industries, as occasion arises, taking up the work as the private employer lays it down, for the less it becomes worth while for the individual capitalist, the more it becomes worth while for the community to engage in productive industry.

We must always remember that England does not depend upon the private capitalist and labour, but upon capital and labour. The manufacturer who is not so easily frightened as people would have us believe, may in the last degree become frightened and resolve no longer to produce in England: but this particular tax will not affect him as producer but as income taker. The only way he could escape it would be to live abroad. He is touched as producer by other parts of Labour's programme: he would be affected as employer

by a minimum wage and an eight hours' day; but if he decided to take his capital to some country where labour was cheaper, he would be willing to part with the fixed portion of it, his factory buildings, machinery, etc., at a very low figure: and the only buyer under these improved conditions of labour who could afford to purchase and could make his factory once more a going concern, would be the community.

The mere fact of his choosing to live abroad will not much concern us, so long as we have seen to it that he has less to spend either here or abroad;—that more is secured to the actual producers, and less to the shareholder. In reality the income-tax would have to be enormously heavy, if it is to drive capitalists permanently away. The real danger lies in that part of the Labour programme which may drive *capital* away, for we must not forget that although the employer cannot move a certain portion of his capital, *i.e.*, fixed capital, buildings, machinery, etc., that these things are *not* the most valuable portion: they will—much of them—be thrown on the scrap heap within twenty years—his capital for the larger part is his power to purchase labour, his command of the labour market, and so long as there remain labour markets where he can purchase cheap sweated labour, he may produce by its means cheap sweated goods, and undersell in

the home market our dearer products, made dearer by being produced under fair conditions. This is looking a long way ahead; and much may happen before this becomes actual fact—Socialism moves apace in France, in Germany, in Russia, and even in Japan, and simply races ahead in our Colonies. Therefore, he may not find in, say, twenty or thirty years many cheap labour markets left—but supposing the worst should come to the worst and he tries to ruin his country (these gentlemen are not very patriotic if England should become a democracy not only in name but in deed) by underselling the decently produced home goods, then I would remind my readers that the Labour Party, while at present “free trade,” keeps an open mind concerning the relative values of free trade and protection under changing commercial conditions.

But at this point one may possibly have to meet the indignant objection that the Labour policy is rank spoliation. The objector may be in receipt of an inherited income, which secures him in the leisure necessary for a life devoted to luxury, philanthropy, art, amusement, social duties, or contemplation. Such a man does not, it is true, engage in productive work,¹ but he

¹ Should he be not only in receipt of unearned income, but also a managing director, etc., as brain worker he is entitled to fair remuneration, for the mental labourer is worthy of his hire.

would argue that he held the purse, the opening of which alone could set men to work, and that he therefore fulfils a social function. Moreover, without a consumer, how could there be producers? it is he who feeds, clothes, and houses the working classes. True, he consumes without producing, and it has been said that "morality and political economy unite in repelling the individual who consumes without producing" (Balzac); he lives on interest, and it has been said, "Lend, hoping for nothing in return" (New Testament), but he will, while frankly admitting that he is a usurer (for all educated people nowadays know that in pure English usury does not stand for excessive interest but for *all* interest),¹ urge that to lend money upon usury is an honourable trade, so long as the usury be not too excessive; and if he do not lend to the capitalists, but puts his money into trade and becomes a shareholder, he must surely be repaid at as high a rate as he can possibly get for the risks he runs, and his benevolence in not withholding his fortune; for without him we should be ruined.

That there are thousands of people in Europe, brought up in this point of view, and holding it in all good faith, is, I think, quite beyond dispute: that an increasing number of them, coming under the influence of such societies as

¹ Cf. Chapter VIII., "The Church and the Labour Demand."

the Christian Social Union, or of modern writers on political economy and socialist pamphleteers, are beginning to go to the root of the matter, and to feel uncomfortable about their possessions, is, I think, equally certain. One must remember that human nature is by no means entirely self-regarding in the narrower sense, and that many capitalists are heart and soul with Labour in its demands and in its attempt to build a better England, and would be content in the immediate future with less profits, so that production should be communally more profitable, and in the far future with a readjustment of society which would convert private traders into servants of the community.

It is therefore to thoughtful and large-minded people of all classes and of all shades of political opinion that one appeals for a hearing on this subject of land and interest. And first of all one must remind them that they owe their wealth and its security to the fact that they live in a society ordered by laws; that it is by a certain arrangement of these laws that they have been permitted to acquire land, and amass capital, and to withhold these necessary things from the rest of the community, whose workers are not permitted to handle them, or get their living from them until they have paid toll, tax, rent, interest (whatever you like to call it—it amounts to the same thing) to the monopolists;

that out of this tax—upon the proceeds of this legally permitted levy on industry—the monopolists are allowed to subsist; that by a legal arrangement certain consumers are allowed to live upon the producers; and that finally what the law gives, the law can take away. If their appeal is to law, and they say, “It is mine because the law secures it to me,” we shall soon be able to reply:—“It is not yours, but England’s, for the new law secures it to the community.”

But they will not appeal to the law. Law, they will admit, is not infallible, and the mere fact of a transaction being legal does not hall mark it as being just. They will now admit that the fact that a Commons Enclosure Act being passed to rob the commoners of their land does not make the transaction righteous. They must admit this, for they themselves have often argued that the fact of Sir William Harcourt’s Death Duties becoming law does not make the transaction righteous. The legal bubble is burst, *directly the people become the law-makers*; the law is no good as a court of final appeal. But once let the propertied classes abandon the legal argument,—once let them say, This is ours, not because the law declares it ours, for to-morrow the law may change and declare it England’s, but this is ours by moral right, and is it just to deprive us of it? Once let them

admit this, and

They have appealed unto Justice ; unto Justice they shall go.

In the first place, then, what is this income of theirs, and from whence does it come ? In a large number of cases it comes from the rents of land or houses which they inherit, or from inherited shares in Government, railway, or other stocks.

Suppose a man inherits from an ancestor many generations back, if one traces the fortune to its original source, one generally finds the source to be muddy. Either a Commons Enclosure Act has legally entitled him to stolen goods, or an irresponsible king has bestowed land upon him for service the reverse of useful, or he filched it from the monasteries, or the nation gave it him conditionally on his raising year by year a troop for military service (the duty has lapsed, but he takes good care the payment shall be perpetual); even supposing—and this a far-fetched supposition—that he had some righteous title to land or capital in the first instance, we must never let the fact be forgotten that such title, apart from law, gives him no *right* to settle upon his heirs for ever this power to levy toll upon labour, to live without working : I do not say without work, for *no one has ever lived apart from work* ; he either lives by his own labour

or by a tax or income levied upon the labour of others: for

All interest and rents are ultimately paid by Labour, and

The greater part, in value, of the wealth now existing in England has been produced by human hands within the last twelve months (J. S. Mill).

Land and capital are the prime essentials, without access to which property-less men cannot labour, and therefore cannot live.

By an artificial arrangement, your ancestor (by fair means or foul) secured a portion of these primal necessities, *not* that he and his descendants might work them themselves, but that they might withhold them from the workers until they should agree to pay them a perpetual toll for access.

The Law has secured to you and your heirs the power to dictate to the property-less whether they shall live or die, whether they shall work or starve.

Although neither land nor capital will bring a single farthing to your purse *without labour*, yet deprived of land or capital Labour is helpless. Therefore you who are able to withhold them from Labour, can dictate your own terms to the workers and arrange what toll, rent, tax, they shall pay you first before you allow

them access to the fields they have enriched, and the factories they have created.

Your annual income is the tax you are able to levy upon working people, who are obliged more or less to close with you on your own exorbitant terms or starve.

I have said that neither land nor capital will bring a single farthing to your purse without labour. Mr Blatchford in "Merrie England" quotes a good example of this; it appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1891.

"SWAZILAND GOLD EXPLORATION AND LAND COMPANY.

"The Annual General Meeting of this Company was held this afternoon at Winchester House. Mr E. A. Pontifex, the chairman, presided, and moved the adoption of the report. He said that since the last meeting practically nothing had been done. *They had been waiting for more prosperous times.* They were an exploring and land, not a mining company, with a view to inducing others to form subsidiary companies for working the property. At the present moment the formation of companies was practically a dead letter; and it would be useless to point out to promoters where operations could be carried on, as they would be unable to raise the necessary funds to carry on the works. They had reduced the expenses to the lowest possible limit, the Directors having foregone their fees, and the total amount being only £400 a year. *They were awaiting better times, and the advent of railways,* before endeavouring to work the riches they believed were contained in *the 156 square miles of territory which they possessed.* Since their last meeting, the High Court of Swaziland, sitting at Kremersdorp, had confirmed the concession originally made

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by the late King Umbandine, and it was held to by the King's successors and the Boer Republic and the English Government, which now prevails in Swaziland. Nor was it likely that any further call would be made until the arrival of more enterprising times."

His comment is as follows:—

"The case above given is clear enough for the capacity of a child. There is the whole problem made plain. Labour and capital: Labour and land. One hundred and fifty-six square miles of land, and not a shilling return. Not so much as comes back from the land on which is built an Ancoats slum cottage. But a man *lives* in the cottage; and he works, and a part of his earnings goes unto the "owner" of the land."

It is hardly necessary to remind my readers of the process by which urban land becomes valuable. Who create the land values of Ancoats, Salford, or London? Perhaps it would be interesting to give the answer of the L.R.C. as printed in a typical election leaflet.

"The Land is said to be 'God's common gift to all.' To-day, however, it is really **men's common gift to the landlord.**

£350,000,000 per annum

is paid in the form of rent. **And for what? What service does the landlord give to the community? He reaps where he has not sown. He earns nothing.**

"A Few Cases.

"As Agricultural Land the soil of London is not worth £100,000 per annum; as a town site it is worth £20,000,000. The difference has been created by the community. Why should a few individuals pocket it?

"Two generations ago, land in the centre of Widnes was of so little value that, when the grandfather of the present owner died, his sons thought it hardly worth while to prove the will. It is now valued at £3,000,000. Why? Because the community of Widnes has prospered. But why has the landlord been allowed to pocket all the increased value of the land?

"The Ramsden family bought the site of Huddersfield for £1000. It is now drawing £100,000 per annum from the citizens as ground rent.

"Glasgow buys land for a park, and the value of the land adjoining rises immediately from £300 to £500 per acre. This Corporation sold for £800, a hundred years ago, the site upon which its Municipal Buildings now stand, and had to buy it back for £175,000.

"We could quote similar cases by the hundred. **They all prove that communities make land valuable, but that existing law transfers that value to private pockets."**

But to return to the subject of income: It may be that the man who first brought together the family fortune acquired it justly—the chances are against such an assumption, but, never mind—but can the service that he rendered to the community, fifty, a hundred, or perhaps a thousand years ago, by any possibility have been of such value that the present generation

and generations yet unborn for all time should be legally obliged to keep his heirs in idleness?

"Can the *surplus* service of a single life constitute a fair claim upon society *for all time*?"¹

That is what Labour asks. That is what hundreds of people who live upon a comfortable income are beginning to ask themselves.

They want to live a clean life, and cannot get away from the uncomfortable suspicion that while they patronised the poor and thought they were supporting them, that all the time they are living upon unearned income derived from the pockets of the poor: that the working classes are poor because of the *doles they are compelled to give* to villadom.

We may still live to hear a middle-class cry addressed to the workers: "Curse your charity, we want work!"

< Are the Labour demands spoliation? Do they not rather constitute a resolve that spoliation shall at length cease?

Would it not in the meantime be wise to enact that all persons following a trade should be obliged to name it in all government returns, directories, and so forth. That bakers, butchers, lawyers, priests, labourers, should be entered as such, and that all who followed the trade of usurer should no longer write themselves down

¹ Girdlestone's "Society Classified."

as gentlemen of no profession ; they also have their trade. They should be compelled to enter themselves as what they in fact are—usurers or money-lenders.

What is it then that Labour wants of these people? No Socialist asks them to make any violent alteration in their manner of living, but simply to concede the just principle upon which an income-tax graduated principally against huge unearned fortunes is based. Social reformers propose no violent readjustments. Taxation will increase so gradually as to give people time to readjust themselves to new conditions, and if, as is probable, the effect of Labour legislation is that persons of property will not in future be able to leave sums large enough to enable their heirs to live the contemplative life, may I remind them, in the words of an authority not surely too revolutionary, that it is not an altogether unwise thing to teach one's children

To learn and labour truly to get *their own living* in that station of life to which it shall please God to call them.

CHAPTER VI

THE POLITICAL IDEALS OF LABOUR

IN the beginning it is always the few who have made up their minds who lead the many who haven't. These people with definite ideas gradually add to their numbers, until the handful has become a multitude. And so it is with the Labour Party. It was cradled in Socialism. Many Trade Unionists did not understand the Socialist creed; they were held in thrall by the older political faiths; but the prophets of the new creed were untiring in their mission, and at last the people are beginning to understand. Socialism is the dominant note in the new party; a majority of that party are Socialists. Trade Unions everywhere are electing Socialist officials, Socialist town councillors, and now they are beginning to send them to Westminster. The English Trade Unions are not consciously Socialist bodies to-day. They will be to-morrow. Liberals and Tories placarded our towns with warnings against Socialism, but it

is no longer the bogey it was some years ago. The people didn't seem to mind. Socialism, once considered by the working classes an impracticable fad, is now becoming Labour's political ideal.

Let us then be quite clear what this Socialism is. There is so much nonsense talked about it in ignorant and prejudiced circles, that clear definition is essential. Mr John Morley, who, as a historian, should know better, was the other day guilty of an absurd statement that the socialistic demand embodied in "The Right to Work" cry must be modified in view of the fact that the National Workshops of Paris in 1848 had been a failure. As a matter of fact, they were run by anti-Socialist middle-class statesmen with the express object of demonstrating to the people the utter impracticability of socialistic schemes. *They were meant to fail.* Mr Joseph Chamberlain, again, has lately been talking of the impossibilities of Socialism, because if you divided up or shared out, so as to make every one equal to-day, all would begin to be unequal again to-morrow. Mr Morley and Mr Chamberlain should study the "Encyclopædia Britannica" on Socialism, or go to some authoritative dictionary, or read Bishop Westcott's tract, or Mr Blatchford's "Merrie England." We do not propose to "divide up"; nor is Socialism a sharing out scheme, nor is it confiscation of

other people's property, nor is it spoliation. It is neither "merely a beautiful dream," nor a "hideous nightmare." It does not say that men are by nature equal, nor suppose that men are angels; it does not think that every capitalist is a sinner, and every workman a saint. Let us then be quite clear what this Socialism is; let us see what prominent Socialists mean by it, how the dictionaries interpret it, and how Socialist societies themselves describe it.

Socialism is both philosophic and practical. Of the philosophy of Socialism, the late Dr Westcott, Bishop of Durham, writes:—"Socialism is the opposite of Individualism, and it is by contrast with Individualism that the true character of Socialism can best be discerned. Individualism and Socialism correspond with opposite views of humanity. Individualism regards humanity as made up of disconnected or warring atoms; Socialism regards it as an organic whole, a vital unity formed by the combination of contributory members mutually interdependent."

"It follows that Socialism differs from Individualism both in method and in aim. The method of Socialism is co-operation, the method of Individualism is competition. The one regards man as working with man for a common end, the other regards man as working against man for private gain. The aim of

Socialism is the fulfilment of service, the aim of Individualism is the attainment of some personal advantage, riches, or place, or fame. Socialism seeks such an organisation of life as shall secure for every one the most complete development of his powers; Individualism seeks primarily the satisfaction of the particular wants of each one in the hope that the pursuit of private interest will in the end secure public welfare."

Practical Socialism is thus defined by the Social Democratic Federation :—

"Socialism means that the land, the railways, the shipping, the mines, the factories, and all such things as are necessary for the production of the necessaries and comforts of life should be public property, just as our public roads, our public parks, and our public libraries are public property to-day, so that all these things should be used by the whole people to produce the goods that the whole of the people require.

"Socialists say that this is no Utopian dream, but the necessary natural outcome of the development of society. It used to be supposed that anything like the collective carrying on of any enterprise was impossible because it was thought that the personal supervision and control of the owner was absolutely necessary to the success of any such enterprise. But we see to-day that the greatest undertakings are

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those which are owned by joint stock companies, in which the personal supervision of the proprietors is quite impossible, and in which the whole business is managed and carried on by paid officials, who might just as well be paid by the community to carry on the enterprise in the interest of the general body of the people as be paid by a few wealthy men to carry it on for their profit."

*Adams Smith
The same*

Or you will find it clearly stated in the Basis of the Fabian Society :—

"The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

"It therefore aims at the re-organisation of Society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

"The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

"The Society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such Industrial Capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly

of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into Capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

"If these measures be carried out without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community) Rent and Interest will be added to the reward of labour, the idle class now living on the labour of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

"For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon. It seeks to promote these by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and society in its economic, ethical, and political aspects."

The *Clarion* prints the following standard definitions :—

The "Encyclopædia Britannica" says that "to identify Socialism with a violent and lawless revolutionary spirit . . . is to confound the essence of the movement with an accidental feature more or less common to all great innovations. . . . It should be said that the ethics

of Socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them."

"Worcester's Dictionary" defines Socialism as "the science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis, by substituting the principles of association for that of competition in every branch of human industry."

The "Standard Dictionary" calls Socialism "a theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labour through the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property) and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is: 'Every one according to his deeds.'"

"Webster's Dictionary" explains it as "a theory of society which advocates a more precise, orderly, and harmonious arrangement of the social relations of mankind than that which has hitherto prevailed."

If our politicians and journalists would study the above definitions they might be saved from perpetrating many absurd speeches and articles. It may, however, be worth while answering certain stock assertions concerning Socialism.

1. *Socialism is merely a Hideous Nightmare.* — Perhaps this has been sufficiently answered in Chapter V. We do not seek to

despoil anybody, but to check the despoiler and put an end to all spoliation. Robert Blatchford puts the matter in a nutshell:—

“At present the land—that is, England—does not belong to the people—to the English—but to a few rich men. The mines, mills, ships, shops, canals, railways, houses, docks, harbours, and machinery do not belong to the people, but to a few rich men.

“Therefore the land, the factories, the railways, ships, and machinery are not used for the general good of the people, but are used to make wealth for the few rich men who own them.

“Socialists say that this arrangement is unjust and unwise, that it entails waste as well as misery, and that it would be better for all, even for the rich, that the land and other instruments of production should become the property of the State, just as the post office and the telegraphs have become the property of the State.

“Socialists declare that if it is wicked and foolish and impossible for the State to manage the factories, mines, and railways, then it is wicked and foolish and impossible for the State to manage the telegraphs.”

I remember not so long ago hearing of an old chain-maker in the Midlands who had worked all his life for a bare subsistence wage. They talk about production for profit and not for use. Well, he had produced for other people's profit. He was very old, and now could work but slowly. One day he took the chain he had made to his master, who told him that prices had been reduced, and mentioned a sum which would not keep body

and soul together. The old man went home, and next morning worked harder than ever, and at last made a new chain; but he did not take it to his boss. He fixed one end of it to the beam in the workshed and made a noose in the other, and he hanged himself. It was the first time he had ever been allowed to produce for use and not for profit. But the story may explain why the "Hideous Nightmare" theory strikes one as a little indecent.

2. *Socialism is merely a Beautiful Dream.*—

If by this is merely meant that Socialism was first a philosophic theory in the mind before it became practical politics, the point is obvious but irrelevant; if, however, people who repeat the phrase mean that ideals are never practicable, and that dreams never come true, then I must respectfully refer them to the steam engine and the telegraph. Do they seriously maintain that the engine, because it was first a dream of Stephenson, and a mental picture or ideal in a few minds, never can have become an accomplished fact? I should advise them not to stand on the rails when an express is signalled, murmuring that the steam engine is only a beautiful dream. They might also be warned that it is disastrous to stand on the Socialist rails, when the Labour

Party gets to work. As a matter of fact, Socialism has begun. The electric telegraph is Socialism. It is managed by the community, and its profits go into the pockets of the community. State railways abroad, and municipal gas, water, trams, laundries, and dwellings at home are Socialism. Thousands of years ago roads were private property. What are they now? The open road is a beautiful dream, but it is a dream that came true.

3. *Labour cannot exist without Capital.*—

Agreed: but Socialism does not propose to abolish capital. It proposes to abolish the capitalist: or, rather, to substitute public for private capitalists. It demands that capital created by all the workers should be socialised or owned by the community.

4. *Socialism would destroy all Incentive to Effort.*—What incentive to effort do you think the unemployed workman has, crushed and disheartened, and enfeebled by his fruitless search for work? What incentive to effort does the present system offer to one of the finest cabinetmakers I ever met, who, after working for many weeks, fitted up a shop in Manchester in the most artistic and beautiful way, designing and executing everything himself; and when it was finished the head of

the firm which employed him came in and looked round, and said: "Not so bad, but you've forgotten one thing. You haven't painted in my name as the designer." Incentive to effort, forsooth! A system that takes all the joy out of work and crushes out every spark of originality is hardly a system that can boast of offering incentive to effort.

Socialism which will put back joy into labour, restore individuality to the labourer, and add a new incentive of social service, can hardly be accused of destroying personal initiative. Beyond all this, there is the fact that self-interest is not the only incentive to effort: there have been times in the past when men have been urged to action by patriotism, by the thought of common wealth.

5. *You can't alter Human Nature.*—This is another loose, stupid, inaccurate cry. Do you mean you can't put into man what is not there before; you can't supply man with an alien character; you can't twist man into something he is not? Of course you can't, but you can evoke what is latent in him, you can transplant him from the rank, poisonous, and barren soil of industrial anarchy into the sheltered garden of true civilisation. He has no chance now to live a fine generous life. You can give him a chance, and you can do

that much for him by a mere rearrangement of external things, a readjustment of external laws.

6. *Socialism would be all very well if Men were Angels.*—No, it wouldn't. If men were angels it would be an intolerable tyranny. If men were angels, they would do right without any rearrangement of society. They would cease to do evil and learn to do good. They would keep their hands from picking and stealing. As it is, it is necessary to restrain individuals from dipping their hands into the social till, and appropriating the common property. Socialism is essential precisely because men are not yet angels.

CHAPTER VII

THE LABOUR PARTY AT THE POLLS

SEVERAL Cabinet Ministers have welcomed the Labour Party with open arms. They have said that they would like to see more Labour members returned, because they feel that the working class should have its interests adequately represented, and they refuse to believe that Labour representatives could be so rash or foolish as to aim at anything beyond guarding these interests; the Labour members they have known in the past, Messrs Burt, Broadhurst, Maddison, and others, have been good Liberals, and most mild and gentlemanly fellows: they cannot believe that the new group could repudiate the great Principles of Liberalism, or be a source of annoyance to the Government.

But I have more than once heard it said during the last month that Labour has been let in on sufferance of the Liberal vote, and that without Liberal support at the polls, Labour candidates would have been ignominiously beaten. Labour must therefore toe the Liberal line, or take the consequences at the next election.

Once more let us be quite clear that Labour is not to be hostile to Unionism or Liberalism, but independent of them and indifferent to them. If the Government introduces sound Labour measures, it will receive Labour support. If the Unionists vote against the Government in the same lobby as Labour, so much the better for Labour.

"The new Labour Party will not evil-eye the good resolves or performances of the Government. The Labour Party needs no broken fragments of Liberalism to afford it stepping-stones onwards. Nor is Socialism a power that thrives on the death or disaster of any legislative efforts, but rather on the life and promise which the triumph of all useful legislation brings.

"What gain to Socialism had we in the misdeeds of the late Imperial Government?

"Therefore we say we wish to see this new Government do well. If it does well, it is well for Socialism. If it does ill, it is ill for Socialism. But whether the Government does well or ill, the Labour Party will, by its courage, its initiative, its Socialist conviction, and its scrupulous independence, show the people that the future of the nation rests with the new power of Labour and Socialism which has entered Parliament as a young giant almost at a single stride."—*Labour Leader*, 2nd February 1906.

Now let us examine the assertion that Labour representatives were returned mainly by Liberal votes, and that the triumph of Labour is really a triumph of Liberalism.

Let us for the purpose of this analysis take

the last Labour victory, namely, Chester-le-Street, and minutely examine the causes that led up to it.

From time immemorial the miners have stood apart from other working-class bodies, and, possibly because they are in a more fortunate position and can therefore help themselves, have been individualistic in politics, returning such members as Mr Thomas Burt, M.P., who for forty years has preached co-operation, sobriety, and thrift, and opened his mouth and shut his eyes and taken whatever his Liberal friends gave him. Last session, as we have seen, they gave him an electric monopolies bill, to "encourage L.C.C. enterprise," and Mr Burt swallowed it. The miners have in the main been opposed to socialistic legislation, and have refused to fight for an eight hours' day or minimum wage. Their own hours were fairly short, their own pay at one time fairly high, and by strikes or other extra Parliamentary efforts, they could surely secure their needs. To the arguments that even their occupation had its ups and downs, that others were not so fortunate as they, and the workers ought to hang together, they seemed to be indifferent; and of all miners, Durham men seemed the most bullet-proof to Socialist attack. But Socialism is very persistent, and at last a change is coming over the mining world.

One of our big dailies suggests with a certain satisfaction that the troubles of the Labour group will be increased by the obduracy of the miners on questions of Socialist legislation, but in every succeeding Parliament this difficulty will decrease. In spite of the fact that since the election the Press has been ringing with warnings to Trade Unionists against Socialism, and protestations that at least the miners will not tolerate Socialist leadership, the Yorkshire and Lancashire miners' associations having to appoint new presidents have chosen *avowed Socialists*, Mr Herbert Smith of Glass Houghton, I.L.P., and Mr Thomas Greenall of Pendlebury, I.L.P. We turn to Wales, and we find that in the Merthyr district the younger men of the Miners' Federation rallied round Mr Keir Hardie almost to a man. "The gospel of Socialism was accepted with gladness, and our independence, once understood, had no terrors."

And now, finally, Durham, the last stronghold of working-class individualism, is shaken to its foundations. In Chester-le-Street the miners had not even their own representative, but returned their Radical employer, Sir James Joicey, Bart., to look after their interests in Parliament. His last act was to urge forward the electric monopoly bill above referred to. He is a millionaire coal-owner, being chairman and managing director of the two largest colliery

companies in Durham, a director of the North-Eastern Railway, etc., etc. His men in 1885 returned him with a handsome majority. In 1886 he was unopposed; in 1892 he again obtained a huge majority; in 1895 his party made him a baronet, and his majority went up to over 3000. In 1900 he was again returned, but his figures had dropped so alarmingly that in the present year, the miners having resolved to oppose him, and the Liberal Government having changed its mind about ending or mending the House of Lords, he was created Baron Joicey, and will now be able to legislate from a securer height.

The Durham miners had now to choose their man. A few of the older men wanted a domestic pet like Mr Broadhurst, who would feed out of the Liberal hand, but they could hardly get a hearing. It was carried by an overwhelming majority that Mr J. W. Taylor, Socialist, be asked to stand.

A Congregationalist minister was put forward by the Radicals as a "Labour" candidate; he could produce credentials from no single Trade Union. Why, it may be asked, if Labour is returned by Liberal votes, do Radical candidates when fighting Labour men, label themselves Labour rather than Radical? Does it not suggest that things are generally the other way round, and that the Liberals are "in" by the

help of Labour votes, and that if they do not toe the Labour line, "the next election will be another surprise for them." One is confirmed in this opinion by the result at Newcastle-on-Tyne, a mile or two from Chester-le-Street, where in a double-barrelled constituency, with one Liberal and one Labour man in the field, Mr W. Hudson, L.R.C., has captured the senior seat, has polled 18,869, his majority being 6927.

The Rev. W. E. Moll, vicar of St Philip's, Newcastle, himself an untiring worker in the Socialist cause, writes:—"The reason why Hudson headed the poll here was because of the moral enthusiasm evoked by his socialistic programme," and he goes on to say that Cairns, the Liberal, was only returned as the second member by putting forward a drastically Socialist programme.

But we must recross the Tyne and return to Chester-le-Street. Mr J. W. Jowett, M.P., says he never found so much interest in election audiences as in this Durham division. In many districts every man and woman was strong for Independence: in others, it was loyalty to their Unions that brought out some old-fashioned miners who spoke on Taylor's platform, and apologised for his not running under the Liberal flag. "As a rule the younger element in the audiences gives evident signs of impatience at these utterances, . . . and as the

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stalwarts freshly imported into the constituency are supplying a different kind of fare in plentiful quantities, the tone is altering as the election approaches. If all the newly-elected members who are expected come on the scene, Chester-le-Street will receive such an electric shock as will make a revelation when the poll is declared." Well, Chester-le-Street has received an electric shock, and the Socialist tops the poll with a 3000 majority.

CHESTER-LE-STREET

1900—L. 5830. U. 5391

Taylor (Miners and I.L.P.)	.	.	.	.	8085
Shafts (C)	.	.	.	.	4895
Tebb (L)	.	.	.	.	4606

Although it would be more generally correct to say that Labour has helped Liberalism than to maintain the reverse, there have been some cases where Liberals have refused to run a candidate against a nominee of the L.R.C., even where they may have had some small chance of winning. In Norwich, Halifax, and Stockport there were to be found Liberals working hard for Socialists. In the former place the Radical candidate urged people to give the second vote to the Labour man, and the Free Church Council followed suit. In Halifax the Liberals not only stood aside as

regards the second seat, but for two years have strenuously advocated Labour's claim to it. Friendly relations seem to have existed between Liberalism and Independent Labour at Leicester and Wolverhampton. At Burnley, although the official Liberals uncompromisingly opposed Mr Hyndman, they were unable for some time to put up a man against him. Several wealthy Liberals were asked, but refused, inasmuch as although they did not like Mr Hyndman's view, they thought that on his general knowledge and reputation he ought to have a seat in Parliament. The local Liberals, not to be beaten, at last appealed to Mr Fred Maddison, a working man, an able opponent of Socialism, and a close friend of the Capitalists. He became the official "Liberal - Labour" candidate, on the same platform as Messrs John Burns, Ward, and Burt, although, unlike them, he received from start to finish not a single resolution from a working-class organisation or Trade Union on his behalf. The result, however, was a triumph for Liberalism. Mr Hyndman writes in the *Clarion* as follows:—

"A Tory entered the field, in the person of Mr Arbuthnot, at the last moment, so we had a genuine three-cornered contest. I appealed for votes wholly and solely as a Social Democrat. There was no 'Labourism,' Liberal or other, about me. I went forward as an out-and-out class-war

Socialist, and I told the packed audiences at meeting after meeting that even our palliatives of the eight hour day, the maintenance of children, the organisation of unemployed labour on co-operative principles, and comfortable old age pensions counted for far less with men than the great work and the glorious ideal before us of the displacement of capitalist competitive anarchy and wage slavery by the organisation and order of the co-operative commonwealth. I therefore adjured those who were not prepared to vote for me on this account not to vote for me at all.

"Mr Maddison and his Liberal employers fought the fight in the most despicable fashion. Lies were tumbled out in profusion from their Press and on the walls, and no meanness that mean men could stoop to was spared. Our meetings were amazing, and I had the active support of some of the foremost men and women in the country. Lady Warwick and Mrs Despard, Michael Davitt, Bernard Shaw, the Revs. Hugh Wallace, Percy Widdrington, Paul Stacy, H. Wightman, Mr Marklew, and many more. I think I may safely say that such a collection of Catholics, Churchmen, Nonconformists, and Agnostics stood on no other candidate's platform throughout the election.

"I was beaten, after all, by a few votes. At 5 P.M. we made sure we had won, and the Tories were of the same opinion. But, as I was warned by a very experienced ex-Radical the day I landed in the town would be the case, at the last moment the 'resources of civilisation' in a very tangible shape were brought into play. Of this we have sworn evidence of the most respectable character. What does it matter? We fought a good fight, and I polled a good poll for revolutionary Socialism."

Mr Hyndman's references to Liberal opposition are fierce enough, but the following quotation from the *Saturday Review*, 27th January

1906 goes far to justify strong language concerning Burnley and other contests.

“Mr Hyndman, having denounced Chinese labour, was accused by the Liberals of being financially interested in South African mines, where such labour was employed. He promptly issued a denial. The Liberals replied by publishing an extract from the *Mining Manual* of 1905 giving Mr Hyndman's name as a shareholder in the Wassau Mine, and adding: ‘The Wassau Mine is in Africa.’ They omitted to mention that it is in West Africa, and has no more to do with Chinese labour than a coal mine in South Wales. Another Socialist candidate for a Lancashire borough has been forced to bring an action for criminal libel against a Liberal partisan who described him as ‘a gambling tipster,’ and as engaged in running ‘a sort of bucket shop.’”

I hardly think Mr Hyndman's poll of nearly 5000 was helped by Liberal voters!

At Southampton the Liberals were beaten in 1900, and three years ago saw little prospect of success. A Labour demonstration was held, and it was resolved to run an Independent candidate. The Liberal Association assured the Trades Council that they would in this case only put up one man, leaving a fair field for the Labour nominee. There was no alliance with the Liberals, but only this understand-

ing that they would leave the second contest to Labour; but when the Trades Council chose Mr Quelch of the Social Democratic Federation, and the Liberal tide was flowing at the bye-elections, the Radicals decided to run a second candidate. I wonder how far Liberal votes helped Mr Quelch's poll of over 2000!

At Jarrow, where there was a straight fight between Liberalism and Labour, the Liberal candidate received the official support of the Conservative Association, the United Irish League, and the Orangemen! Mr Pete Curran, another Socialist "whole hogger" in the face of this combined opposition, polled over 5000 votes.

It is common knowledge in Labour circles that we draw at least as many votes from Tories as from Liberals, that is from people who once voted for one or other of the historic parties, and are now definitely "Labour." In addition to this, a Labour candidate draws a considerable number of voters who have never troubled to record their votes before. At Bradford, where I was canvassing for Mr Jowett, our election agent, in giving me a list of voters in two or three streets, crossed certain names off as "Liberal," and told me not to call. I was, however, asked to canvass most of the Conservatives, as they were more

possible. Mr Philip Snowden, M.P. for Blackburn, sums up :—

“The enormous Liberal votes at this General Election are made up of great numbers of votes which would have gone by preference to the Labour candidate had such been in the field. . . .”

In dealing with this question of Liberal *v.* Labour, I have perhaps incidentally answered another charge : namely, that it is only when Socialists seek shelter under the L.R.C. flag, and drop their Socialism, that they have any chance at the polls.

It is true that no Social Democrat running independent of L.R.C. support was returned, but it will hardly be maintained that Mr Will Thorne, S.D.F. member for South-west Ham, hid his Socialism under a bushel, and no Liberal candidate could surely have polled anything approaching his figures in that particular constituency.

The fact is it was not out-and-out Socialism that prevented the return of such men as Mr Hartley in East Bradford, but their refusal to have *any canvass* made, their fighting without a single carriage or motor, and to some extent the peculiar Marxian theories with which they backed their Socialism which, tenable or untenable, are not understood of the people, and are unsuited for the electoral platform. In

the face of all this, look at the enormous increase in their polls; Mr Hartley gaining over 3000, Mr Hobson doubling the Socialist poll at Rochdale, and Mr Hyndman adding so many voters to Socialism, that one of the ablest business men in Burnley, himself a strong anti-Socialist, wrote to Mr Hyndman saying he considered his poll "absolutely astounding."

Then, again, consider that the Socialists prepared the ground in those particular towns where the Labour majority has been phenomenal, by victory after victory in three-cornered municipal battles; that it was chiefly owing to them that the L.R.C. was formed at all, and that as a matter of fact, at least 22 out of the 29 victorious L.R.C. candidates preached "the pure milk of the word," described themselves as Socialists, and let it be clearly understood that they wanted no half-hearted support from people who were not prepared to accept Socialism.

The recently published L.R.C. report gives the total votes polled by L.R.C. candidates as 393, 195, being 37 per cent. of the total poll of all parties.

The increase of votes over 1900 is 247,695.

There are 23 avowed Socialists out of the total 29 L.R.C. members.

The I.L.P. was officially responsible for 10 candidatures, of which 7 have been success-

ful. There were 32 other Independent Labour Party men among the candidates, of whom 12 were successful, making 19 members of the I.L.P. now in the House. Of these, 8 won in "straight fights," 3 in three-cornered fights for a single seat, 3 secured senior place in double-barrelled constituencies, and 5 are junior members. J. R. Macdonald polled 14,685, and only missed senior place by 61 votes, Philip Snowden polling 10,282, came short of seniority by 10 votes.

Of the 10 official I.L.P. candidates, 6 stood for seats fought previously in 1900, and 2 for seats contested at bye-elections since 1900.

In the previous contests for these eight seats, the poll was 32,756, and one seat won. Now the poll is 64,761, and five seats won: and this in spite of the fact that in four cases the previous contest was a straight fight with the Unionist, whereas in 1906 Liberals were also brought into the field against them.

In these four cases the votes are thus distributed:—Socialist, 19,893; Tory, 18,443; Liberal, 17,989. Result: Tory seats retained, 2; Labour gains, 2; Liberals, 0.

The above figures are for the most part taken from a careful analysis which appeared in the *Labour Leader* for 2nd February 1906. The writer continues:—

"In the four contests where we had previously fought

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Liberals, their vote rose from 33,102 to 49,042, or 48 per cent. as compared with our increase of 97 per cent. The Tory vote decreased by 14 per cent.

“So that we have :—

Increase of poll	. . .	23 per cent.
Tory decrease	. . .	14 per cent.
Liberal increase	. . .	48 per cent.
I.L.P. increase	. . .	97 per cent.

“The total vote polled for the ten I.L.P. official candidates was **76,494**—about 50 per cent. of the votes cast—as against **37,207** polled for ten candidates in 1900.

“I.L.P. Vote. Average per Candidate.

1900.	1906.
3,720.	7,649.

“The 24 other I.L.P. men who ran under the L.R.C. polled 144,936 votes; 5 as Scottish Workers' candidates polled 15,608; and J. W. Taylor polled 8,085; J. Newlove, 3,102; and S. G. Hobson (independent), 2,506.

“Votes Polled by I.L.P.-ers.

Under L.R.C. or Scottish Committee	. . . . .	242,711
Others	. . . . .	13,693

Total vote polled for Members of I.L.P. **256,404”**

Taking the 10 official candidates of the I.L.P., 8 of the S.D.F., and 3 independent Socialists, we have a total of 106,612 votes in 20 contests.

Many other L.R.C. men's candidatures were Socialist from the beginning, and Mr Will Thorne was nominated by the Socialist party

of West Ham, among others, as also Mr Will Crooks by the Socialist party at Woolwich.

The basis of the Fabian Society is Socialism. All members must be Socialists. The Fabians (see *Fabian News*, February) had thirteen members standing; seven have been returned, Mr Percy Alden being on the executive.

Tottenham—Percy Alden (Lib.)	.	.	.	9,959
Chatterton (C.)	.	.	.	7,009
				<hr/>
Majority	.	.	.	2,950
Woolwich—Will Crooks (Lab.)	.	.	.	9,026
Adams (C.)	.	.	.	6,914
				<hr/>
Majority	.	.	.	2,081
Merthyr (2)—Thomas (Lib.)	.	.	.	13,971
J. Keir Hardie (Lab.)	.	.	.	10,187
Radcliffe (Lib.)	.	.	.	7,776
				<hr/>
Hardie's Majority	.	.	.	2,411
Newcastle-on-Tyne (2)—Walter Hudson (Lab.)				18,869
Cairns (Lib.)	.	.	.	18,428
Plummer (C.)	.	.	.	11,943
Rennie (C.)	.	.	.	11,223
				<hr/>
Hudson's Majority	.	.	.	6,926
Leeds, East—James O'Grady (Lab.)	.	.	.	4,099
Cantley (C.)	.	.	.	2,208
				<hr/>
Majority	.	.	.	1891
Thornbury (Glos.)—Athelstan Rendall (Lib.)	.	.	.	7,370
Colston (C.)	.	.	.	5,240
				<hr/>
Majority	.	.	.	2,130

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Finsbury, Cent.—W. C. Steadman (Prog. & Lab.)	3,493
Goulding (C.)	2,799
	<hr/>
Majority	694

Total L.R.C. and Miners' Vote.

The total L.R.C. and Scottish Workers' vote reached the total of **337,573**. Of the miners not under the Committees, 4 were elected unopposed, and the other 10 polled **81,483** votes, all being successful, in two cases after hotly-contested three-cornered contests. One of these was J. W. Taylor (I.L.P.), an account of whose remarkable victory at Chester-le-Street appears in another chapter.

Total Socialist and Labour Vote.

Under L.R.C and Scottish Workers	337,573
Socialists independent of above	24,445
Miners independent of above	81,843
Other Trade-Unionists independent of above	5,807

Grand Total . . . **449,168**

Or, counting votes polled for Fabians other than those reckoned in above analysis, an additional poll of	24,845
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Grand Total . . . **474,013**

If Rhondda, West Monmouth, Normanton, and Mid-Durham—the four uncontested seats—had been polled, the Grand Total would have been little short of half a million votes, even without reckoning those Fabians who ran as Liberals.

In addition to this great vote, Messrs Burns, Bell, Steadman, Ward, and 12 other Liberals running on the **Liberal-Labour Ticket**, polled **115,952** votes.—Chiefly from *Labour Leader*.

11 1555
2 1043
13 644

Some Socialist Polls of 1900 and 1906 compared.

1900—**West Bradford**—J. Jowett, 4949, unsuccessful.

1906— „ J. Jowett, 4957, successful.

1900—**Halifax**—J. Parker, 3,276, unsuccessful.

1906— „ J. Parker, 8,937, successful.

1900—**Leicester**—J. R. Macdonald, 4,164, unsuccessful.

1906— „ J. R. Macdonald, 14,685, successful.

1900—**Manchester (S.W.)**—F. Brocklehurst, 2,398, uns.

1906— „ „ G. D. Kelly, 4,101, succ.

1900—**Merthyr**—Keir Hardie, 5,745, successful.

1906— „ Keir Hardie, 10,187, successful.

1900—**Preston**—Keir Hardie, 4,834, unsuccessful.

1906— „ J. T. Macpherson, 10,181, successful.

1900—**S.W. Ham**—W. Thorne, 4,419, unsuccessful.

1906— „ W. Thorne, 10,210, successful.

1900—**Rochdale**—Allen Clark, 901, unsuccessful.

1906— „ S. G. Hobson, 2,506, unsuccessful.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH AND THE LABOUR DEMAND

IN Switzerland, where they have realised the tremendous driving force of the mountain torrent, the towns are lighted with electricity. Some months ago I came across a walled city on the Lake of Neuchatel which had slept peacefully through the noise of Manchesterism, through the whole war for markets, peace without honour, cheap and nasty period. It had never heard the name of John Bright, had never handled an iron gas-pipe. It had escaped the nineteenth century, and awakened in the twentieth. Now its crooked, old-world streets are hung with brilliant electric lights suspended from beautifully wrought brackets, and by their side still burn the immemorial lamps of oil, which look as if they had lighted it from the thirteenth century, and far beyond. Old and new are met together, and their beauty is, curiously enough, not incongruous.

The development of this little town always reminds me of the Church and its history, and especially of the Church of England.

We Anglicans are often charged with being a

sleepy, unprogressive lot. Well, we never made much progress towards Manchester, nor sang with any enthusiasm, "Our Feet shall Stand in Thy Gates, O Sheffield." If we have been asleep, it is after all something of an achievement to have slept through the nineteenth century. Many of our people felt the nightmare of the slave factories, and stirred uneasily. One or two woke up, and awakened a goodly few who lifted up their voices against these Babylons of commerce. Maurice's theology, Kingsley's novels, Ludlow's practical politics, cannot easily be forgotten. The fruit of their thought is now being gathered. The few prophesied anything but smoothly, and the sleepy many at least never took kindly to gas and factories and the doctrine of each for himself. Rightly or wrongly, few Churchmen cared for Radicalism, and the political faith of this handful had less individualism and more collectivism about it than could have been reassuring to Gladstone. He was their idol, not through his indifference to Socialism, but through his passionate interest in the rights of individuals and the individuality of small nationalities. True, his political vision was like Swinburne's, telescopic. He could always sight oppression on the horizon, and overlooked it at his door. He was so dominated by a theory of individual self-help, that he was unable to help individuals, denied their right-of-way across life by the bars of industrial

anarchy and the iron "law" of supply and demand. His mind was melodramatic; the miseries at home were sordid and parochial: he was inclined to overlook them.

It must be frankly admitted that the opposition of the great majority of English Churchmen to the Liberal Party, while partly arising from a true instinct, was by no means entirely righteous. There can be little doubt that Gladstone and some other Liberal leaders were inspired by a very real and passionate sense of freedom, however curiously it may sometimes have operated; and it was not always his faults that Churchmen opposed, but often the very virtues—which should have endeared him to them.

For good or for evil, Anglicans continued to identify themselves with that ancient party in the State, which had now accepted the leadership of a Jewish sceptic. Conservatism was ceasing to be philosophy, and becoming untenable, in face of the facts. The Catholic section of the Church became more and more detached. They voted Conservative, but without enthusiasm. It would not be true to say that as a body they were eagerly searching for some new political form into which to pour their faith, but at least the bulk of them were dissatisfied with the old forms, while a small but alert section were not only seeking but helping to construct the new. This new form, this new political economic mould, was Socialism.

They had slept through the gas age, and now their streets are hung with the new bright lights which do not seem incongruous beside the old-world lamps of the past.

Hundreds of the clergy, who would not dream of voting for official Liberalism, are now inclined to support the Socialists, the Labour Party, and even Liberal collectivists. The widespread notion that the priest ought not to interfere in politics prevents many from appearing on Labour platforms, but to my certain knowledge clergy of the Church of England supported the Independent Labour and Socialist candidates at Burnley, Newcastle, Chester-le-Street, South-west Ham, West Bradford, East Leeds, South Leeds, Wakefield, Dewsbury, Leicester, Birmingham, and, I believe, Liverpool, Blackburn, Halifax, and other places. Some who had no Labour candidate in their vicinity assisted the Labour Party by letters and articles in the press.

The Nonconformists generally voted Liberal, and were found in opposition to "Labour," but at Norwich, and, I think, Halifax, the Free Church Council supported the Socialist.¹ Invariably in every three-cornered contest the

¹ They also supported Henderson at Barnard Castle, in a straight fight against the Tory. He belongs to no Socialist body, and is one of their local preachers. Mitchell, whom they helped at Darlington, protested against being called a Socialist, and although in a straight fight, failed to secure the seat.

Nonconformists opposed the Labour candidate. Dr Clifford, who is still, I believe, a member of the Fabian Society, sent his support to a reactionary Liberal against the Labour representative, but now that Labour has won a considerable victory, he seems to be remembering his first faith. The Free Churches quarrel with Labour because the Socialist M.P.'s will not help to establish their religion in all schools, believing secular education to be the true solution of the difficulty. Nonconformity, moreover, still represents the middle class too closely to be of any great help to Labour at the present moment. Mr Jowett, the Labour member for West Bradford, is in favour of the secular solution, but caused great offence by maintaining that so long as undenominationalism is taught in some schools, the Creed and the Church Catechism should be taught in others. Thereupon he was dubbed an enemy of Religious Liberty (!), and the "Horton Lane Chapel Outlook" tells us that he has "sold the People's Cause to the Priest," and speaks of "the betrayal he has helped to engineer." Possibly the Horton Lane Nonconformists agree with Mr Michael Baxter, who writes in "Prophetic Truth" to the effect that he has identified the Labour Party with the Beast in the Apocalypse.

Although the Nonconformist leaders, Mr Rhondda Williams and others, were strongly

opposed to the Labour claim in Yorkshire, I fancy many of the rank and file must have disregarded their advice. Several Northern Anglicans, once Tories, came out on the Labour side. Mr Hyndman's platform at Burnley included at least three Anglican priests. Mr J. R. Macdonald, M.P., Secretary of the L.R.C., writes to me: "I recognise most unreservedly the great assistance that Socialist Churchmen have given us during the recent elections."

It is noticeable how large an amount of space is given to Labour questions in the *Church Times*. Before writing this chapter I picked up the current issue. Half a page is devoted to correspondence on the Labour Party; a full page to Father Bull's Catholic Socialism; another to the Bishop of Stepney's sermon at St Paul's Cathedral welcoming the Labour Party; another to a full report of a great Christian Social Union meeting at the Church House, Westminster, with Canon H. Scott Holland in the chair, and the Bishop of Birmingham (Dr Gore) as chief speaker, supported by the Bishops of Southwark, Rochester, Southwell, Kensington, the Dean of Westminster, Canon Barnett, and others.

Turning to the advertisements in the same number one finds an announcement to the effect that the Guild of St Matthew, the oldest

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Socialist Society in England, invites all Socialists and Social Reformers to meet them at Sion College on 15th February 1906. The resolutions moved at the meeting were as follows :—

1. Reasserting the principles which the Guild has maintained for more than a quarter of a century, that the democratic movement is essentially Christian and should have the support of the Church.
2. Congratulating "Labour" on its success at the Polls.
3. Encouraging Socialists to perfect their organisation and continue their fight.
4. Urging all to co-operate to get as much Socialistic legislation as possible out of the present Liberal Government.

The Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, Warden of the G.S.M., presided, the *Magnificat*, described as the "Hymn of the Social Revolution," was sung, and the following, among others, spoke :—

The Rev. Father Adderley (Saltley), the Rev. F. L. Donaldson (Leicester), the Rev. W. E. Moll (Newcastle-on-Tyne), the Rev. P. Widdrington (Halston, Lancaster), the Rev. Conrad Noel, the Rev. A. W. Jephson (Walworth), J. W. Jowett, M.P., T. Summerbell, M.P., Mr G. Bernard Shaw, Rev. Percy Dearmer.

Letters in support were read from Rev. W. Busby (Norwich), Mr H. G. Wells, Rev. Paul Stacey, Rev. Arnold Taylor, Mr Geo. N. Barnes, M.P., Rev. Canon Escreet, and Mr T. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., Secretary L.R.C.

It would be impossible in the short space of this chapter to sketch the history of the Guild of St Matthew, but the following is taken from my notice of it which appeared in the parish magazine *Goodwill* some months back. I had been picturing the individualistic Protestantism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and continued :—

“The Guild of St Matthew would have none of this teaching. It seemed to Stewart Headlam a mere parody of the religion of Christ, who had created a visible fellowship among men, and who had taught the brotherhood of men and the Fatherhood of God ; who had healed the bodies of men quite as often as He had preached to their souls ; who had never mentioned the future life, except on one or two occasions when His enemies had forced Him to discuss it ; and who had *never once* held out the promise of the heaven after death as an ideal for which men ought to work. Mr Headlam pointed all this out. Many accused him of not believing in a future life at all. Of course, that was nonsense. He believed, but he put it in its proper place, as Christ had done

before him. To sit on the right hand or the left, to secure a special place in heaven, was not Christ's to give. It was not a thing to be sought by Christian men: that could take care of itself; or, rather, God would take good care of it for us all, if we were keen on creating here and now on earth, and in our midst, a real brotherhood of God, for religion might be summed up in these words: 'Fellowship is heaven, and lack of fellowship is hell.' Making your own election sure in its narrow modern sense seemed to the Guild of St Matthew to be the denial of Catholic truth—*i.e.*, of the brotherly faith of the Church. Make the next General Election sure was a good deal nearer the mark. Make it sure by voting, not for your private interests, but for the common good, remembering that one is your Father, and 'all ye are brethren.'"

In February 1905 the G.S.M. issued the following manifesto in view of a general election:—

"THE CHURCH AND THE POLLING BOOTH.

"(Being the Manifesto of the Guild of St Matthew to the Christened People of England.)

"*The Christian Vote.*—It is hardly necessary at this time of day to remind you of the most obvious of Christian duties. You naturally

feel that religion, although it includes the individual relationship between the soul and God, and is thus far a private affair, is also a public affair, including the relationship between yourself and your fellows, in that we are all of the family of God. You believe that it is the business of the Church to interfere with the world at every turn, and that one of the first duties of christened men is to make their power felt at the polling booths on behalf of the rights and duties of the people of England.

“The Social Problem.”—After a century of legislative activity the social problem remains in its essence untouched. Mr Rowntree, Mr Booth, and other experts inform us that at least a third of the workers are underfed, badly clothed, and inadequately housed; while we know that a small minority are able, owing to their control of the means of production, to live as parasites on the labour of others. Society can still be classified into beggars, robbers, and workers. Surely it must be the first aim of the Church to educate the people in the knowledge of these things, in the knowledge of the reason why, after all the admitted improvements of the last fifty years, the many are still poor, and of the steps which are necessary to remedy these intolerable

evils. It is for you at the polling booths to see justice is done to the great mass of the people, and that, as far as legislation can give it them, they shall have a chance of living and of enjoying life."

The manifesto then proceeds to elaborate a programme of social and political reform, including

Secular Education.

The Right to Work.

Municipal Drink.

Old Age Pensions.

Trade Union Law Amendment.

Increased Death Duties.

Taxation of Land Values.

Unearned Income Tax.

Its only fear was that the new Labour Party might represent merely a class, and might not be constructive enough or Socialist enough in policy.

"*The Labour Party.*—We may be reminded that there is now in the field not only a Liberal and a Tory Party, but also a Labour Party. This is so, and we are extremely glad of it, for anything that focusses attention on industrial problems is a thing to be welcomed. At the same time, we should like to know somewhat more definitely what the word

'Labour' is supposed to signify. It must be admitted that hitherto the Labour Representation Committee has given us little guidance on this point. It is, unfortunately, the fact that those who have so often rightly blamed the Liberals for having no constructive programme, have outside the subject of Trade Union Law no authorised programme of any kind themselves. What we want in Parliament is not so much a 'Labour' party—though indeed names matter little—as a Socialist party, or at any rate a party with clear constructive ideas on social questions. To such a party, were it to appear, we should be ready to give our unswerving support against all opponents. As things are, we can only make the best of the materials which lie to hand."

Lest it be supposed that the socialism of Churchmen is some new thing, adopted now that it is becoming comparatively popular and respectable, we must remind ourselves of the fact that the Guild of St Matthew came into being as a Socialist Society in 1876 to develop the teaching of Maurice and other English theologians of 1848, convinced that their faith was to be found in the Church Catechism and the Prayer Book, and that it rooted down into the best Catholic tradition of the past. As early as 1852, Socialism had found a home in the Church of England.

"For if Socialism be, in one and perhaps the truest sense of the word, the Art of Partnership, its work must extend through every department of human activity in which men stand or can stand in the relation of partners together, in which they are or may be in one shape or other bound together for gain or loss, for good or evil. There must be socialistic politics . . . as well as socialistic trades or industry.

"Christian Socialism knows of no outlying spheres or districts . . . every thought of individualism and isolation is spiritual treason. . . .

"We are sure, sure as the sun is in heaven, that fellowship and not self-interest is the true ground of human society. We are endeavouring to build upon that ground . . . though we should build but a shed, we know that it stands firmer than a palace reared on a quicksand, like all those fine theories about self-regulating competition, and the balance of supply and demand, under which men work more and more the less they earn."

Journal of Association, 3rd May 1852. Kingsley's lines,

"So die, thou child of stormy dawn,"

were written on the death of the Christian Socialist paper, whose management he shared.

Here are two passages taken from the pages of the Anglican Catholic journal, *The Church Reformer*.

"We are to some extent leaders in an important Church movement which is growing stronger. We . . . have been compelled, by our sacramentalism, to be socialistic; . . . *because* we are priests, *because* we are communicants, we have felt ourselves bound to do all that is

in our power to fight against poverty and the evils resulting from poverty; because of our religion, not in spite of it, we have felt ourselves bound to take part in politics and to exercise what influence we have, to see that the State is used for the benefit of all, and not for the aggrandisement of the few; because we believe in the Fatherhood of God resulting in the Brotherhood of man, we have regarded it our duty, and not merely our right, to break through every monopoly to get the means of production into the hands of the people.”—*The Warden's Address, at the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Guild of St Matthew at Sion College, on 24th September 1888.*

“We shall know that if the Church was true to its principles . . . it would be a great social democratic federation.”—(*Ibid.*)

“We want to get the clergy . . . to use their enormous influence in favour of the legal revolution.”—(*Ibid.*)

In this connection it may be valuable to quote from a sermon preached twenty years ago by one of the prominent guildsmen of St Matthew, the Rev. Thomas Hancock, who was known as a first-rate historian, and for his brilliant leaders in the *Church Times*. Speaking of the *Magnificat*, he suggests that it is only by spiritualising away its meaning that the rich can sing it contentedly. If they really believed

it they would demand its excision from the Book of Common Prayer.

"This carpenter's wife," they would say, "is exciting the parishes to revolution. Her so-called hymn is nothing less than a disguised socialist war song; it is setting class against class; it implies that the three classes, whom she describes as the proud, the mighty, and the rich, are opposing themselves to God and goodness, to the coming of the Father's Kingdom, and the doing of His will on earth. She does not utter one word in condemnation of the evident vices of the poor and the hungry. She speaks of the proud being scattered, the mighty put down from their seats, and the rich sent empty away; she actually rejoices in the vision of this catastrophe of wholesale confiscation. She has not a word to say on behalf of the rights of property and class, or of fair compensation. The bishops and clergy, if they would earn their pay and justify their social position, ought to point out the dangerous tendencies of these revolutionary stanzas. It would be a very fortunate thing for respectable society if some eminent critic could prove that it was spurious, or if some very early manuscript of the third Gospel could be discovered in which the *Magnificat* is wanting. . . . A Pope has declared that the Blessed Virgin is the great foe of Socialism. If the *Magnificat* be her song, it would be far more reasonable to call her the Mother of it."

And now I will quote some significant extracts from the speeches at the great C.S.U. demonstration. Canon Scott Holland said:—

"It was not the wealth that was lacking—wealth there was in abundance. The whole question was how to apply that wealth, how to

distribute it, how to secure that wealth fulfils the purpose of wealth for the people at large. The process of production itself had got to be moralised and humanised, and brought under the direction of Parliament and the public conscience, and directed for the good of all, so that the enrichment which was procured under conditions of Free Trade was as widely diffused as the labour which created it; that was their purpose. That was what they were challenged to show.

“And if they were inclined to be remiss, there were those who would see to it that they acted; for the great forces which were enfranchised long ago were now for the first time showing results. These men who had come forward as representing enfranchised Labour were determined that things shall be done. They were people who believed that life can so be organised as to conduce to the welfare of the whole people, and especially of the weakest, and they meant to see it done. They were men of convictions and ideals. We had been too long without convictions and ideals, and these men were going to insist that whatever we did should be done for an ideal. And in a large measure their ideals were our ideals. English life was to be raised to a higher level by the recognition of its corporate responsibility.”

The Bishop of Birmingham said :—

"Certainly I am one who, for many years past, have been from the bottom of my heart desiring to see in Parliament a more adéquate representation of labour by itself.

"Therefore I am sure that the only way in which the balance of importance about political topics can be redressed in Parliament is by the presence there of a large, I would say a much larger, representation than we have yet got—of the wage-earning part of society, by itself.

"Well, I would say, let them make never so many mistakes, or things which I think are mistakes, still, I am sure that by that way, and by no other way, can we get a real appreciation of those evils which, unless they are remedied, will of a certainty wreck our country and the hopes which all those who care for England must entertain for the part she has still to play.

"Again, we walk through miles and miles of streets in our big cities without open spaces, with nothing except what Dickens called 'an uninterrupted view over the way'; and think of what that means—never to realise or breathe anything of the largeness which comes in open spaces. Then you see lands not built over, not in cultivation; and you ask, why? 'Oh, because they are not ripe for development.' But we say they are ripe for development to-day. They have been ripe for development

these years past for the good of the community. We want the whole mass of our cities to be organised, planned, laid out. Instead of that the cities grow at the will of the jerry-builder or the property owner, orderless, shapeless, without method, because there is no one to plan and forecast, and give a city space and dignity, and room and order; something that can make it worthy to be called a city.

"I am as sure as I can be that what is best in the labour of England is in part alienated from the Church, because it has so largely got into the habit of thinking that the people go to church for what they can get. I am certain that a primary part of the policy of the Church is by all the means in its power to labour for the secularisation of all matters of relief. Let them be as far as possible made part of the work of the municipality; the work of the body of citizens, the work of the State, without respect to religious differences. Let us, because we are Churchmen and Christians, co-operate and put into that work all that we can, led by our faith and hope and charity; but, meanwhile, we ourselves as Churchmen will stand once again free of the burden; and shall be working to represent that which we really represent, that which can reinforce character, that which can make men strong, can stand as a real representation of that

brotherhood in which every man counts for one and no man counts for more than one; in which the great ideas of justice, liberty, and love had their origin, and have their continuation. If we stand for that, then indeed we need have no fear to face the Labour cause, for indeed the things the Labour cause most needs are the things that we out of the very heart of our most traditional Christian Creed can alone supply."

It will be interesting to compare the tone of this great meeting after the election with that of the Annual Meeting held some months previously, and I think the following excerpts will show that the C.S.U. policy is consistent, and uninfluenced by the success or failure of any particular party. The C.S.U. met at Nottingham in December 1905, when 2500 people, and 75 delegates from all parts of the country listened to the Bishops of Southwell, Birmingham, and others. (See *Forward*, 9th December 1905.)

The Bishop of Southwell (President of the Nottingham branch) then made a short address, in which he said that our object in meeting together was to express dissatisfaction with things as they were, which he was sure were not according to God's will; and because this was so we must all stand shoulder to shoulder "in the might of God arrayed" to make this

earth fairer and more lovely, as God intends it to be—but He makes *us* His instruments for executing His will.

The Bishop of Birmingham said that the C.S.U. did not exist to do anything new, still less to teach anything new, but to do again what the Christian Church had done in the days of the Roman Empire (and was meant to do in all ages) by means of the old Faith “once for all delivered unto the saints.”

In those days the Christian Church had succeeded in actually creating a new middle class (just what was then needed) of poor men made richer and rich men made poorer in one common brotherhood. Its motto had been “For *all* who want work, *work*; for those who will not work, *hunger*; for the old and infirm, *provision*.” And this it actually achieved, not by neglecting or denouncing dogma, but by *insisting on and carrying out in practice* its own Christian dogmas.

To-day we were confronted with the *same difficulties* of unemployment and hunger and infirmity and luxury and idleness; and if our creed was real to us and not so many mere words, we were *bound* to do our utmost to conquer these same difficulties once more, and to believe that they could be conquered by the old Faith which had conquered them before.

What we wanted was to believe more

intensely, and to be possessed with a holy *intolerance* against the present evil state of society, against enervating luxury for the few, and slums and degrading poverty for the many, as wholly against the will of God, that these things *should* and *must* be changed, as undoubtedly they *could* be changed. *But the greatest difficulty in the way of all this was that the majority of the working men—the men whose votes rule England—did not share these sentiments.* The C.S.U. had not absorbed any large proportion of the working classes, nor was the Church of England in any real sense representative of them. He wanted the Church (and Nonconformists too) to cease to be a “charitable” institution—to leave that to public and municipal bodies—and to set earnestly to work to its true task of raising and inspiring the men and women of the nation to their duties as citizens. He felt that many were held back from the Church at present by the thought that many others came only for what they could get. *Then, lastly, he wanted to rouse up the working classes by every means in his power—by insult, if necessary—to use their votes for themselves as citizens.*

Compare with these utterances the following, taken from the Bishop of Stepney's sermon of welcome to the Labour Party at St Paul's

Cathedral, on the fifth Sunday of Epiphany of this year :—

“But what makes the great contest through which our nation has passed memorable, is the entry on the stage of our political history of a new power, the power of Labour, united, organised, conscious of its strength. The great dumb mass of our working folk—the hands of our huge industrial machine, the dwellers in mean streets and crowded tenements—has found its voice, it has exerted its strength, and it comes forth challenging attention to its claim.

“Amid much wild talk we can see the shaping of a high and noble conception of the State, not as a mere collection of competitive atoms, but as an organism in which each part finds its privilege in the service of the whole, and the whole finds its privilege in lifting up into its own strength the poor, and the weak, and the feeble.

“Here are men, at least, who have worked in pit and factory, whose friends are among the dwellers in our overcrowded cities, whose kindred have spent their old age in our workhouses. These men will bring, at least, first-hand knowledge of the facts of life to the study of these problems. They will take care that amid all the business of politics ‘the poor shall not always be forgotten, the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish for ever,’ ”

From these quotations I think it will be seen that the most vigorous section of the Catholic party in the Church of England is socialistic, and that many of its ablest clergy are definitely Socialists.

Now, why is it that the more catholic of the Church of England clergy and laity should be so emphatically socialist? It is impossible to fully answer the question here, but one may enumerate the most striking causes.

1. *Their Particular View of Scripture and of Religious Development.*—They do not believe in the correctness and plectoral infallibility of the letter: they are not bibliolatrous; but for this very reason they believe profoundly in the spirit behind the letter. God's Word for them is, first, Christ; secondly, His Body, the Living Fellowship in every age; and, thirdly, its particular written expression in Holy Scripture. Therefore Catholic Churchmen do not ask, was Jesus Christ a Socialist or an Individualist in the modern economic meaning of these terms? they remember the stress he laid on individual *and* community. They are of opinion that Christ would neither have justified Mr Gladstone's phrase about the importance of exclusively "thinking in individuals," nor Mr Sidney Webb's counter phrase about "thinking in communities," for Christ thought *in individuals*

through community, asserting that only through fellowship can individuals realise life, insisting always on "the common salvation." Applying this Christian ethic to our own age, they observe that competitive industrialism tends to dishearten, enfeeble, and destroy the individual. They recognise that Conservatism does not even suggest a remedy; that Conservative philosophy is non-existent, and a revival of a feudal theory of life as impossible as it is undesirable.

They see in the old Manchester Liberalism, a system which, while it may in theory have sought to release individuals, in practice cast both their bodies and souls into factory hells. They noted that Radicalism, while it gave certain important electoral reforms, had no theory of the community; they have therefore come to feel that their faith can nowadays on its political side be most adequately expressed in that new political form which they themselves have helped to create, namely, Socialism.

2. *Their Sacramental Interpretation of Life.*

—The Church of England does not regard human nature as irremediably bad. It believes that the deeper nature of man is divine, for he is made in the image of God.

English Churchmen believe that the bodies of men are sacred as well as their souls: that

the visible things are God's as well as the invisible; that to starve men's bodies is to destroy the Temple of the Holy Ghost. Their sacramentalism teaches them that the outward and visible is a divine expression of the inward and spiritual, forbids them to divorce soul from body, secular from sacred, this world from the world to come; leads them to view life as a whole, society as a living-body, and to believe that if one member suffers, all suffer, and that in the exaltation of the community, its individual members are exalted.

3. *Their Traditions.*

A. COMMUNISM. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

What did the first Christians do when their Church was settled in Jerusalem? They lived as Communists. They must have known what the Master really meant; they had heard Him speak, and knew thousands of sayings of His which have not come down to us (John xxi. 25); they had the apostles amongst them, and had not the divine teaching on hearsay. And "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul; and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common" (Acts iv. 32). And as a natural result of this communism (as St Chrysostom pointed out many years afterwards) "great grace was upon

them all. For neither was there among them any that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto each according as every man had need" (Acts iv. 33-35). From each according to his ability to each according to his need!—*From a Clarion pamphlet*, by Rev. Percy Dearmer, now vicar of St Mary's, Primrose Hill, London.

"The communism attempted in the apostolic age was cherished in the traditions of the early and mediæval Church as the ideal form of Christian Society."

Both private property and slavery were regarded by primitive, and to some extent mediæval, Christianity as

"Encroachments on the original rights of all members of the human family—since men were naturally free, and the fruits of the earth naturally common; both would disappear in the future, when Christ's Kingdom came to be realised."—Sidgwick, "History of Ethics."

B. USURY.

The Christian writers unanimously condemned all taking of interest. Christ's saying, "Lend, hoping for nothing in return," was interpreted in its most literal sense, and they could not conceive of a life supported by interest as

clean or honourable. The man with clean hands and of uncorrupt life was "he who hath not given his money upon usury nor sworn to deceive the innocent." The canon law sought in a later age to enforce this view, though with certain reservations.

C. THE RIGHT TO WORK, ETC.

What (the new religion) advocated was just the *duty* of work. If any will not work, neither let him eat (2 Thess. iii. 10). Over and over again it was enunciated that the duty of providing for others was conditioned by their incapacity for work (*i.e.*, children, the sick, the aged).—Harnack, "Expansion of Christianity."

With the recognition that every Christian brother had a right to a bare provision for livelihood, the early Christian Church also admitted the obligation to secure this minimum either by furnishing him with work or else by maintaining him.—Harnack, *Ibid.*

It is beyond question that a Christian brother could demand work from the Church and that the Church had to furnish him with work.—Harnack, *Ibid.*

D. THE SOCIALISM OF THE FATHERS, *e.g.* :

Aristides points out that the Christians allow no class distinctions. Lucian, the anti-Christian, brings this as a charge against them.

In the "Shepherd of Hermas" (second century) the rich are shown as round, white stones unfit for building into the Church triumphant until they be squared by the paring off of their riches.

"Thou shalt have all things in common with thy neighbour, and not call them thy private property, for if ye hold the imperishable things in common, how much more the perishable?"

The Epistle of Barnabas, *cf.* the Rev. Stewart Headlam :—

Those who come to the Holy Communion are bound to be Holy Communists.

The Rev. Charles Marson sums up :—

When the Catholic faith is merely latent, there the Socialism is also less explicit. When the writer is unsound in his orthodoxy, then he is almost sure to favour some form of individualist law or possession. When the writer is sound and saintly, then he is always entirely and unhesitatingly in favour of the common holding of goods, of equality of opportunity, of social freedom; and even when he is not quite sound, he is always fiercely opposed to the covetousness which calls itself enterprise, smartness, natural incentive to exertion, thrift, and the like.

It may be objected that the primitive Church, although socialistic, was not political. To this

objection, Churchmen would reply in the words of Cardinal Newman :—

“If the primitive believers did not interfere with the acts of the civil government, it was merely because they had no rights enabling them legally to do so. But when they have rights, the case is different. . . . In truth the Church was framed with the express purpose of interfering, or (as irreligious men will say) meddling with the world.”

APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

TWO OFFICIAL LIBERAL PROGRAMMES

Being a Comparison between the Newcastle Programme of 1892 and that portion of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Albert Hall speech, 21st December 1905, which dealt with domestic policy, both Social and Electoral.

GENERAL ELECTION PROGRAMME—1906

*From authorised edition (Liberal Publication Department)
of a Speech on Liberal Policy delivered by the Prime
Minister, 21st December 1905.*

'Constructive Social Reform.—When I come to the policy of constructive social reform, I am principally conscious that I must make a reiteration of things which I have been saying up and down the country for the last three or four years. But I can promise you this—that it will always be the same story. We desire to develop our undeveloped estates in this country—to colonise our own country—to give the farmer greater freedom and greater security in the exercise of his business; to

secure a home and a career for the labourer, who is now in many cases cut off from the soil. We wish to make the land less of a pleasure-ground for the rich and more of a treasure-house for the nation. Now, why cannot Mr Chamberlain drop his project of taxing corn and cheese and so forth, and come back to his old love of three acres and a cow? This question, including these great problems, cannot be neglected, because, after all, the health and stamina of the nation are bound up with the maintenance of a large class of the workers on the soil. The town population redundant, the country population decimated—it is a subversion of healthy national life. Now, in passing, let me mention one thing which the Government have resolved to do. Few things, we think, are more capable of benefiting both the towns and the country districts than a development, if that can be given to our system, of canal communication, and promoting the use of waterways, which will facilitate transit, which will open markets, which will bring town and country together. We have, therefore, resolved to ask the King to appoint a Royal Commission to enquire into the whole of that question, because we believe that great benefit to the nation may come from it.

The Problems of the Towns.—But we are meeting to-night in London, and not in the

country—in London, the greatest city in the world, an agglomeration of cities, some cities of the very rich and some cities of the very poor. London presents a group of problems positively terrifying by their dimensions, problems of housing and of overcrowding, problems of the unemployed, of the over-employed, and of the badly employed. But they differ, these problems, after all, only in degree, and not in kind, from those which present themselves in other and smaller cities. We all know the evils. Whoever passes, like the Levite, on the other side of the way, Liberalism cannot pass on the other side of the way. What, then, is that which we can do? We can strengthen the hand of the municipalities by reforming the land system and the rating system, in which I include the imposition of a rate on ground values. We can make it easier for them to relieve the congestion of the centre, and to promote orderly and healthy development on the outskirts. We can do what in us lies to prevent the central departments from being in any sense a drag on local enterprise, and make these departments rather stimulate and inspire; and I rather think that the new President of the Local Government Board will be a good guide in such matters. I want to see the Poor Law framed to meet a different state

of things, brought into harmony with new conditions, and I think we are all agreed that experiments, carefully conducted and closely watched, may be with advantage entered upon with the view of finding how best to mitigate the evils of non-employment. [Here followed a few words about Trade Union Law amendment.]

GENERAL ELECTION PROGRAMME—1892.

[COPY.]

LIBERAL LEAFLET, No. 1589. [14,692.] [Price 3s. per 1000.]

NEWCASTLE PROGRAMME.

At their Fourteenth Annual Meeting held at Newcastle-on-Tyne in October 1891, the **National Liberal Federation** declared itself in favour of the following

LIBERAL REFORMS:

Home Rule for Ireland such as shall fully satisfy the just demands of Ireland, and leave the Imperial Parliament free to attend to the pressing demands of Great Britain for its own reforms.

The Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England in Wales, and the application of the tithes to the public purposes of the Principality.

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Full Municipal Powers for the London County Council, and all other municipalities, including the control of its own gas and water supplies, markets and police; the taxation of ground values and other financial reforms.

A Free School within reasonable reach of every family, and public representative control of all Schools supported by public money.

The Amendment of the Registration Laws, the reduction of the qualifying period to the three months, and the abolition of disqualifications now attaching to removal;

One Man, one Vote;

Shorter Parliaments;

Returning Officers' Expenses placed upon the Rates;

All Elections on one and the same day;

A recognition of the payment of members (as the only means of securing an adequate representation of labour in the House of Commons).

District and Parish Councils popularly elected;

Compulsory powers to local authorities to acquire and hold land for Allotments, Small Holdings, Village Halls, Places of Worship, Labourers' Dwellings, and other public purposes;

The reform of existing Allotment Acts, together with the right of full compensation for all improvements.

Reform of the Land Laws, such as will secure—

The Repeal of the Laws of Primogeniture and Entail; Freedom of Sale and Transfer;

The just taxation of land values and ground rents;

Compensation to town and country tenants, for both disturbance and improvement;

The Enfranchisement of Leaseholds.

The direct popular veto on the Liquor traffic;

The Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Established Church in Scotland;

The Equalisation of the Death Duties upon real and personal property;

The just division of rates between owner and occupier;

The taxation of Mining Royalties;

A "Free Breakfast Table";

The extension of the Factory Acts; and

The "mending or ending" of the House of Lords.

The Tory Programme, if they have one, is a mixture of Coercion, Rebellion, "Fair Trade," and Vested Interests.

If they deny this, challenge them to produce a programme of much needed Reforms, which they will pledge themselves to undertake. They will not respond to the challenge, so

Vote for the Candidate who supports

THE NEWCASTLE PROGRAMME

Published by the Liberal Publication Department (in connection with the National Liberal Federation and the Liberal Central Association), 41 and 42 Parliament Street, Westminster, S.W., and Published by the National Press Agency, Limited, 18 Whitefriars Street, London, E.C.

PROGRAMME.

From the pages of the Labour Record.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman unfolded his programme at the Albert Hall on 21st December 1905, and this included the following points of policy which the Government was prepared to go on with if returned to power.

- 1. Open Ports and Cheap Food.**
- 2. Stoppage of Further Importation of Chinese Labour.**
- 3. Popular Control of Education.**
- 4. Self-Government for Ireland.**
- 5. Popular Control of Licensing.**
- 6. Taxation of Land Values.**
- 7. Civil Authority in India to be Paramount.**
- 8. Greater Freedom for Trade Unionism.**
- 9. Arbitration in International Disputes.**
- 10. The Maintenance of Friendly Relations with Foreign Countries.**

PROMISES.

The new Cabinet Ministers have been outlining the work of the next Session of a Liberal Government, and the following table will be found interesting. The subjects indicated in black type denote important measures which will receive precedence.

1. **Education Bill**, reopening the public control and religious teaching of elementary schools. This is to be the main Bill of the first Session.—Mr Birrell, Minister of Education.
2. Radically alter the machinery of the House of Commons. First Session project.
3. **Trade Unions Bill**, to protect Trade Union funds from attack by capitalists, as in Taff Vale litigation. First Session.
4. Bill to establish complete self-government in the Transvaal. First Session.
5. **Shipping Bill**, to subject foreign vessels leaving British ports to same regulations as British ships.—Mr Lloyd-George, President of the Board of Trade.

6. **Amending Licensing Bill**, with a time-limit to compensation for extinguished licences. — Mr Herbert Gladstone, Home Secretary.
7. (a) Reduction of national expenditure, but "not much" this year.
(b) Enlarged provision for meeting National Debt.
(c) Lowering coal duties, income-tax, and taxes on tea and sugar "in process of time," and subject to conditions *a* and *b*.
8. "Free hand" to Mr Haldane for Army reform to secure efficient fighting force with well-maintained Militia and Volunteers.
9. Development of Irish local government and of Ireland for the Irish, but no Home Rule Bill in next Parliament.
10. "Tussle" with the House of Lords.— Mr Sydney Buxton, Postmaster-General.
11. Disestablishment of Welsh Church.

APPENDIX B.

PARAGRAPHS DEALING WITH SOCIAL
AND ELECTORAL REFORM

*(Extracted from Specimen Election Addresses,
Election Leaflets, etc.).*

**Mr C. F. G. MASTERMAN (N.W. Ham),
Liberal.**

I STAND in opposition to Protection. Protection everywhere means the taking of money out of the pockets of the poor and putting it into the pockets of the rich. The manufacturers in protected industries are made wealthy, and the landlords increase their rents—but it is at the cost of the whole community. Prices will go up without wages rising. Bread will be dearer, and meat, milk, dairy produce, houses, and all the necessities of civilisation. Dearer prices will throw men out of work and increase the proportion of unemployed and of paupers to what it was in the days when England had actual experience of Protection, before the repeal of the Corn Laws. The tax

on food is a violation of a law of nature, and would bitterly injure the poorest in the community.

England under Free Trade has obtained such wealth as makes her the envy of the world. The national income is more than seventeen hundred millions a year, or over two hundred pounds a year for every family. But far too large a proportion of this income goes into the hands of a tiny few, while the poor starve and pauperism increases. Protection would give more to these very rich and make the life of the poor harder. What we really need is wise legislation which will correct the errors of this distribution, spread the national wealth more evenly, and give every man and woman—and every child—a chance.

I would advocate in Parliament a Graduated Income-tax, and the removal of taxation from all the necessities of life. I would support the Rating of Land Values, to lighten the local rates and bring into the service of the whole community that "unearned increment" which the community has created. I believe in economy and retrenchment of the present wild and unproductive expenditure, combined with the judicious assistance of wise schemes for social improvement of the people.

I am in favour of National Schemes for Dealing with the Unemployed: by national subsidies to

the new farm colonies; by the establishment of national work which shall be remunerative; and by a drastic reform of the present Poor Law. I would encourage the planting of free men on small holdings on the land. For the last ten years I have been working and writing on these subjects of social improvement in a working-class district and in close touch with the leaders of Labour. I hope to continue such work in Parliament if it is the wish of the majority of electors in West Ham (N.).

I shall advocate the Nationalisation of the Education Rate, and of the Poor Rate, which together form such an intolerable burden in the poorer districts. If Nationalisation is not at once obtainable, I shall advocate a large measure of equalisation, whereby the burden of this national work of education and poor relief shall be more fairly distributed. We know to-day that we have no hope of any such measure being even attempted if a Conservative Government is again placed in power.

I am in favour of full popular control over schools supported by the public funds, and the removal of religious tests for teachers in the public schools.

I shall support legislation designed to bring back into the hands of the people the control over Licences which has been so foolishly thrown away.

I am entirely opposed to Chinese Labour in South Africa. While soldiers who fought in the war are in the workhouse or starving in the streets, the gold-mines are paying enormous dividends out of imported Chinese serf Labour, whose terms of admission are little distinguishable from actual slavery. The mine-owners themselves frankly announce that white labourers are not wanted, because they might form Labour Unions, and obtain control of the government of the country. This seems rather a miserable end to the war which was advocated so strongly as a "white man's war" and a "miner's war" only five years ago.

I am in favour of one man one vote, extension of the Franchise to all adult citizens, payment of members and of their election expenses. In Ireland I support the policy of the new Prime Minister.

I should support the Trades Disputes Bill; measures to effect the better housing of the working classes; the improvement of elementary and secondary education; also Old Age Pensions.

Hon. CLAUDE G. HAY (Hoxton) Conservative.

I AM A TARIFF REFORMER. Our old and stale trade system TAKES WAGES AND FOOD FROM OUR OWN PEOPLE AND GIVES WAGES AND FOOD TO THE FOREIGNER. I am in favour of abolishing a state of things which permits the foreigner to sell in England and prohibits British made goods being sold in foreign countries.

The nations of Europe and of America, once poor and undeveloped, have become wealthy and prosperous because they have kept THE HOME TRADE FOR THE HOME WORKER, and the foreigner can only sell to them provided they have free access to his markets. The result has been that the workman abroad has step by step improved his wages and the conditions of his life and labour.

Tariff Reform will save our Home Trade and prevent WORK, WHICH IS THE RIGHT OF OUR OWN WORK-PEOPLE, leaving the country and going to the foreigner.

Tariff Reform will lighten our taxation and the cost of our Army and Navy.

The best and most energetic of OUR WORKERS WILL NO LONGER BE COMPELLED TO SEEK SUBSISTENCE ABROAD, while every week will no longer add to the terrible list of our Unemployed.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman declares we must colonise the land by taxing it. But how can agriculture revive in this country unless the tillers of the soil can find a profitable market for their produce?

The best hope of the British workman is to take advantage of the OFFER OF HIS BRETHREN IN GREATER BRITAIN. For when he buys the principal products of our great Colonies, which take our manufactured goods in exchange, he OPENS NEW MARKETS TO EMPLOY OUR WORKING PEOPLE AT HOME, and at the same time he STRENGTHENS THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR EMPIRE.

And this in effect is the high road to Free Trade. The intercourse between British peoples the world over is the best guarantee for their mutual defence and for the peace of the world.

I therefore advocate a free Conference with our Colonies as the best practical means of achieving this great principle. I believe the workman's food will cost him no more when he depends upon the British Colonies than when he relies upon the foreigner for his daily bread—the foreigner who is driving the Englishman from his work in England.

Inseparable from the Trade Problem is that of the Unemployed. NO MAN CAN EARN WAGES AND BUY BREAD, HOWEVER CHEAP, UNLESS HE CAN FIND WORK. Give him the chance of work and wages. Then, if he will not work, punish him.

But for the willing workless provide a POOR LAW WHICH WILL NOT BREAK HIS HEART AND HIS HOME. THE RIGHT TO WORK IS THE FIRST AND PLAINEST RIGHT OF A CITIZEN. I am in favour of a reform of our Poor Law which will GUARANTEE THIS RIGHT TO ALL.

Likewise in Education our ambition must be to produce competent citizens. At present we cultivate the mind and neglect the body; consequently WE DO NOT GET VALUE FOR OUR MONEY. I believe we should insist that every child attending school should be WELL FED AND CARED FOR. Negligent parents should be punished, but their children should not be starved. Humanity as well as the efficiency of the rising generation demand that the children should be fed, but it should not be at the ratepayer's expense. The parent having discharged his duty to the utmost the rest should be paid from the National Exchequer.

I believe Education to be as necessary to the whole nation as the Navy or Army, AND EDUCATION SHOULD THEREFORE BE A NATIONAL CHARGE and not a Ratepayer's burden. I ask you to enable me to enforce this view. In foreign countries these and other charges are easily met by the nation as a whole, because these countries enjoy a trade system which affords an ample revenue and builds up prosperous industries which enrich the nation.

By this means the foreigner has to pay his proportion towards the welfare of the nation from which he derives profit. I hold that it is the undoubted right of every parent to decide the form of religious teaching to be given to his child, and that the schools established by religious denominations are entitled to justice. I shall resist any attempt of the Radical Government to expel religion from the schools or to confiscate the school property of any religious body. Municipal extravagance, favoured by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, must increase the burdens of the ratepayers. Higher rates mean higher rents, however much you may tax owners of land or houses, the workman is the first to suffer. Local burdens will not become lighter and
 TEMPERANCE WILL NOT WIN BY HEAVIER TAXES
 ON THOSE WHO SELL ALCOHOLIC LIQUORS, FOR
 YOU WILL DRIVE RESPECTABLE MEN FROM THE
 TRADE.

Neither man nor child can flourish unless the conditions of their life at home are healthy. It has always been the main object of my politics that every family, however poor, should enjoy A DECENT AND COMFORTABLE DWELLING. NO RADICAL GOVERNMENT HAS PASSED A SINGLE MEASURE TO IMPROVE THE WORKMAN'S HOME. In every country but our own the Housing of the People has been approached as a NATIONAL

DUTY. The Radical Ministers intend to deal with it as a purely local affair. Until a State Department is created to devote its energies to the solution of this grievous problem, until State Aid renders the workman's savings now in the National Savings Bank available for his home, we can gain no effective remedy whatever land laws or taxes we impose.

The industrial prosperity and the domestic convenience of the London population must largely depend upon cheap and adequate means of locomotion. I have always tried to prevent the means of transit being a source of private profit without due regard to the public interest. I shall continue to press for traffic facilities which will give the toiling masses of our city access to the outer areas as well as easy means of movement within London's boundaries.

In furtherance of such schemes there must be a comprehensive Equalisation of Rates, A MEASURE OF NATIONAL JUSTICE to a population larger than that of Scotland or Ireland.

But the more deeply I am convinced that the happiness of the people depends upon their social welfare, the more I am impressed that Peace must be sternly guarded in these days when the other nations are armed to the teeth, and when the shock of war comes with a much greater suddenness than it came in the days of our forefathers. No nation which intends

to take its part in the affairs of the civilised world can venture to stand entirely alone and unarmed. Therefore we must have a strong Navy and an efficient Army. Therefore the nation must give a generous support to the patriotism of our Volunteer Forces, too often and too long delayed. I shall oppose the declared intention of the Radical Government to disarm our country whilst other nations steadily increase their military strength.

Mr HENRY WARD (Hoxton), unsuccessful Liberal Candidate.

Retrenchment.—I regard retrenchment on a large scale as a vital point in the Liberal policy. For ten years we have been ruled by the most wasteful Government of modern times. Between 1884 and 1894 the national expenditure increased about half a million per annum. From 1894 to 1904 it **increased about five millions per annum!** All the capital cost of the war is excluded from these figures.

Few people recognise that the expenditure has increased by 25s. per head per annum for every man, woman, and child in the country

in ten years. It is to meet this colossal cost that two-thirds of the War Taxes are still imposed, four years after peace has been declared.

Equalisation of Rates.—I strongly favour a further equalisation of rates, and shall be glad to support a proposal to make the Poor Rate a common charge throughout London, controlled by a central body. Great injustice is now done by the accumulation of the poor in the poorer districts. Those least able to bear the burden have to support both their own poor and also those driven out of the richer districts.

Taxation of Land Values.—I would support the reform of the land system, and a measure of rating reform that would place an equitable share of the public burdens on the shoulders of the Ground Landlord.

Trade Unions.—Legislation is required to protect Trade Unions from the result of the recent decisions of the Law Courts in the Taff Vale case. The funds of the Unions should be made secure, and the right of combination maintained.

Generally.—The Unemployed Act must be

amended and made into a workable measure by the provision of the necessary funds.

I hope to see a practicable Old Age Pension scheme introduced into Parliament.

The Workmen's Compensation Act should be simplified and extended.

I should encourage the development of the Volunteer Forces in every possible way. The recent interferences of the late Government with the movement were unjustified and inadvisable.

Mr Ward suggested, hungry children, compelled to attend school, must be fed from the public purse, but out of the rates, when, after a full and proper enquiry, it is shown that the parents are unable to support them.

FROM A HOXTON ELECTION LEAFLET.

At a Radical Meeting at the Hoxton Baths, on 16th December, Mr HENRY WARD was asked some awkward questions on the subject of **UNEMPLOYMENT**. Here are his answers :—

Question 1.—Are you prepared to recognise the principle of the **RIGHT TO WORK**?

Answer.—**THAT IS A QUESTION I CANNOT ANSWER!!!**

Question 2.—Would you support a grant from the National Exchequer to facilitate the working of the Unemployed Workmen's Act?

Answer.—**I AM VERY DOUBTFUL** whether the money should come from **National** or **Local** sources. (That is to say he is very doubtful whether the Nation should face what is emphatically a National Question, or whether poor boroughs like Shoreditch should bear the whole burden!)

Question 3.—Are you in favour of the withdrawal of the Local Government Board regulations?

Answer.—**I DO NOT KNOW WHAT THEY ARE!!!**
 • (Cries of "You ought to know!")

Question 4.—What is the Liberal policy on the Unemployed Question?

Answer.—The Unemployed Act of the late Government is a farce. **I DO NOT KNOW WHAT CAN BE DONE!** I think the matter may safely be left in the hands of Mr John Burns!

But the question is—**Do the Electors of Hoxton think the matter can safely be left in the hands of the "CASUAL" WARD?**

CLAUDE HAY'S PLAIN SPEAKING.

(From a Letter to an Elector.)

"I think the **RIGHT TO WORK** the plainest right of a citizen. A system that does not guarantee this right to every honest and capable worker stands condemned.

"Our present Poor Law breaks up the Home and destroys the self-respect of the workman as a condition of relieving his distress. It should be abolished root and branch, and we should aim instead at preventing the capable workman out of a job from drifting into the ranks of the permanently unemployed.

"Those who will not work should be made to work.

"I regard the Unemployed Act of the late Government as a step in the right direction. The machinery is good, but there is no adequate supply of money to work it. **THE NATION MUST FIND THE MONEY.** It would cost us less than our present costly and degrading **WORKHOUSE SYSTEM!**

"The rate of wages paid to the temporarily unemployed should be a fair one, and the conditions such as may enhance and preserve their self-respect. The regulations issued by the Local Government Board are open to grave objection. They should be withdrawn, and revised in a more sympathetic spirit.

"**THE UNEMPLOYED QUESTION IS A NATIONAL ONE.** The cost of solving it must be borne by the National Exchequer, and not by the Rates.

"For a more detailed account of my views I must refer you to my lecture to the United Wards' Club, a copy of which I enclose. Any elector wishing to see it can have one on application."

H. M. HYNDMAN'S ELECTION ADDRESS.

*To the Electors and Non-Electors of the
borough of Burnley.*

FELLOW-CITIZENS,—After a lapse of more than ten years, I again ask you for your votes as a thorough-going Social Democrat, in order that I may be able to serve the cause of the people on the floor of the House of Commons. During the interval, we have passed through a period of reaction in every department of the State. Injurious vested interests and class monopolies have been subsidised from the public Exchequer, so as to strengthen them against the advance of democracy, while education has been set back by the revival of denominationalism, with the abrogation of direct popular control, and your substance has been worse than wasted on a costly, shameful, and disastrous war. Such is the outcome of Tory rule.

The Liberal Party, which now reckons upon coming into office, proposes nothing important in the way of political or social change; even its most advanced section confines its programme to tinkering reforms of the mildest description.

Yet our political machinery is fully a hundred years behind our industrial development, and our social conditions are so deplorable that, in spite of the riches concentrated in this island, in no country in the civilised world can there be

found such masses of misery, squalor, and hopeless physical and moral degeneration as crowd into the slums of our great cities.

In order to give the political means of bringing about a complete alteration for the better, I would immediately force to the front the following measures :—Universal Adult Suffrage ; Payment of Members and of all Official Election Expenses out of the National Funds ; Annual Parliaments ; Second Ballot ; Short period of Registration ; No Plural Voting ; Home Rule all round, beginning with Home Rule for Ireland ; Large reduction of Members of House of Commons ; Abolition of the House of Lords ; The Initiative and Referendum on all legislative and executive matters for the whole people.

Such democratic political reorganisation is absolutely indispensable for progress. It has been overdue for at least two generations.

On immediate questions before the country, I am in favour of :—

1. Free Trade.
2. Secular Education of the best description, charged on the national funds, and not on the rates, in all the public schools of Great Britain, under direct popular control.
3. Complete suppression of Chinese slavery in South Africa.
4. Immediate Home Rule for Ireland.

I have advocated vigorously for a quarter of a century and I still champion to-day the nationalisation and socialisation of our great means and instruments of creating and distributing wealth, under the direct control and in the interests of the whole people. The railways, the mines, the public departments, the trusts, pools and combines, which have obtained mastery in this country under Free Trade as elsewhere under Protection, are ripe for this wholesome transformation at the present moment.

By taking this course and applying the same method to the land, we should lead on rapidly but peacefully to national co-operation for the entire population. The forces to hasten on the crucial and beneficial transition to a Co-operative Commonwealth are in your hands. Do not be scared by phrases, or frightened by bogeys, but look round upon the result to yourselves of unchecked competition, nationally, locally, individually; and then decide.

Under reasonable social management, wealth to-day could be made as plentiful as water and easily accessible to all. Why then leave things as they are?

Social Democrats have, nevertheless, to face difficulties as they stand to-day, and in order to palliate the worst features of existing competitive anarchy, we propose:—

1. The Eight Hour Day or Forty-Eight

Hours a Week as the period of work-time in all trades for each adult employed.

2. State Maintenance of Children out of the National State Funds in all Public Schools.
3. Co-operative Organisation of Unemployed Labour on Useful Work.
4. Old Age Pensions on a sufficient scale to ensure comfort.

Apart from these great social questions, circumstances have given me an adequate knowledge of Foreign and Colonial affairs, and as delegate of Great Britain on the International Socialist Bureau side by side with Bebel, Jaurés, Ferri, Adler, Vandervelde, Hilquit, and others, I have opportunities for obtaining information of world-wide importance to the popular cause here and elsewhere.

I would, however, specially appeal to you to enable me as your Member to plead in Parliament for the sad and suffering millions of India. I have devoted continuous attention to this great subject for thirty years. We are ruining India and manufacturing famine and plague for 220,000,000 of the human race by our present policy of draining away £32,000,000 a year, without return, from the poorest population on the planet, merely to benefit a handful of our

well-to-do countrymen at home; but we are thus destroying at the same time, with inconceivable imbecility, the greatest market in the world for Lancashire cotton goods. It is high time this crime and this folly should be vigorously exposed in the House of Commons.

Fellow-Citizens, I have been coming among you and addressing you for more than twenty years. You know that I have never gone back upon any principle I ever professed. Nor shall I now.—I am, yours faithfully, H. M. HYNDMAN.

Mr KEIR HARDIE (Merthyr), Labour.

His Election address includes Adult Suffrage (both sexes), Secular Education, Free Trade, Unearned Income Tax, Home Rule for Ireland, Wales, Scotland, England, with Central Parliament for Imperial Affairs, Liquor Prohibition or Municipal Drink, Unemployed Legislation, Feeding of School Children, Old Age Pensions, Reduction of Army and Navy Expenditure. Here is a specimen paragraph:

“It is, however, as a Socialist, a Trade Unionist, and a Social Reformer that I base my chief claim to your support. The working class, professional men, and shopkeepers, are all struggling—some few to make a competence, but the great majority to earn a livelihood.

Millions are steeped in poverty, whilst millions more are but one degree removed from it. While the useful classes toil and suffer, the owners of land and capital, and the schemers and gamblers of the Stock Exchange are heaping up untold wealth. . . . Landlordism and Capitalism are the upper and nether mill-stones between which the life of the common people is being ground to dust."

**The Right Hon. JOHN BURNS (Battersea),
Liberal Labour.**

An Election Address consisting of four large pages, the first three of which speak of his loyalty to Labour, his past services, his disgust with Mr Chamberlain, his hatred of Tories, his horror of the last Administration, his appointment as President of the L.G.B., his feelings about South Africa, his conviction that Tariff Reform is a "political trick, a vulgar election device," his firm adhesion to Free Trade, etc., One sentence should be quoted:

"I am against slavery, coolie, indentured or contract coloured labour under the British Flag." He speaks of "Free Trade, which is the issue of this election."

The latter part of the fourth and last page is devoted to measures of social reconstruction, including Payment of Members and Election

Expenses, Adult Suffrage (both sexes), Amendment of Registration Laws, Second Ballot, Referendum, Triennial Parliaments, more powers for Municipalities, Self-Government for London, Abolition of House of Lords and all Hereditary Authorities, Housing, Fair Rent Courts, Heavy Taxes on Unearned Increment and Unearned Incomes, Raising Age of Child Labour, more stringent Factory and Sanitation Acts, Old Age Pensions without pauperisation, reform of Poor Law, Local Option, Direct Veto, recognition of Trade Unions, abolition of Sweating and Sub-letting, Union Wages for Government Employees, and

“The Legal Eight Hours’ Day as the best means of securing work for all, overwork for none.”

**Mr L. G. CHIOZZA MONEY’S (North Paddington,
Liberal)**

Election Address contains Clauses on the Taxation of Unearned Increment, Housing, Old Age Pensions, Fair Wages, Government as Model Employer, Trade Union Law Amendment, and Taxation of Unearned Incomes. He prefaces this last proposal by stating that the total income of the 43,000,000 British people is £1,710,000,000, but of a small group of rich persons within the nation, numbering 1,250,000, £600,000,000.

APPENDIX C.

(LABOUR AND SOCIALIST MANIFESTOES.)

Taken from the Labour Record, January 1906.

T.U. PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS,—

For the past ten years monopoly has been unchecked, and a Government which came into office to give old age pensions to the aged poor has impoverished the people to benefit the idle rich.

With reckless adventure abroad and wholesale plunder at home, we have been governed by them without a policy. United by no common principle, either of honesty or public policy, afraid to trust the people, they clung to office while a prop was left to hold them up.

The General Election for a new Parliament is here. During the past the Labour Party has been struggling against disadvantages,

having majorities in the House of Commons wholly on the side of capital.

[You are the wealth producers of the country, and, having the franchise, you should use it in your own interest. Employers do this, and use all the influence they possess to divide your ranks and persuade you to vote for their interest instead of your own.]

The Trade Union Congress has year by year passed resolutions in favour of social reforms which can only be made law by the return of a Labour Party to the House of Commons. Your Congress has also been unanimous in demanding that Trade Union funds shall be unassailable, and their legal status made as favourable as was supposed to have been the law before the Taff Vale judgment was given.

What we want you to do is to vote only for candidates who are pledged to—

The principles embodied in the Trades Disputes Bill;

The amendment of the Compensation Acts so as to give compensation to all workers in every trade from the date of the accident;

Amendment of the Truck Act, so that employment can be found at Trade Union rates for those unable to obtain work;

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The abolition of enforced Chinese labour in South Africa ;

The establishment of a State Pension Fund at sixty years of age ;

An extension of the Housing of the Working Classes Act ;

The returning officers' fees to be a charge upon the National Exchequer ;

Adult suffrage ; and

The establishment of an eight-hour working day ;

Now is your time. Do not vote for any candidate who is opposed to the Trade Union programme. Vote for all Labour and other candidates who are prepared to resist taxes on food and industry, to support an amendment of the Education Act, and the other reforms embodied in the programme of the Trade Union Congress.

The election will only last three or four weeks, and the Parliamentary Committee appeal to all Trade Unionists and other wage-earners to work zealously while the opportunity is here, and show by their determination how anxious the working classes are for an honest Government, desirous of legislating for the wants and requirements of the people.

Now is the chance of a lifetime. Don't throw it away. We want something beyond the old demand for a living wage. The demand

for labour to-day should be for a higher standard of living.

In all constituencies where Labour candidates are in the field, let there be no division as to whether a Labour candidate is of one school of thought or another, as we are all Progressives, and vigorously show your opponents what workmen are capable of doing when they are put to the test.

On the day of the poll we earnestly urge all Trade Unionists and wage-earners to see that only men enter Parliament who understand and sympathise with them, and are willing to work in the interests of Labour. By these means only can they enter into the just exercise of their natural rights.

THE L.R.C.

TO THE ELECTORS.—

This election is to decide whether or not Labour is to be fairly represented in Parliament.

The House of Commons is supposed to be the people's house, and yet the people are not there.

Landlords, employers, lawyers, brewers, and financiers are there in force. Why not Labour?

The Trade Unions ask the same liberty as capital enjoys. They are refused.

The aged poor are neglected.

The slums remain ; overcrowding continues, whilst the land goes to waste.

Shopkeepers and traders are overburdened with rates and taxation, whilst the increasing land values, which should relieve the rate-payers, go to people who have not earned them.

Wars are fought to make the rich richer, and underfed school children are still neglected.

Chinese labour is defended because it enriches the mine owners.

The unemployed asked for work ; the Government gave them a worthless Act, and now, when you are beginning to understand the causes of your poverty, the red herring of Protection is drawn across your path.

Protection, as experience shows, is no remedy for poverty and unemployment. It serves to keep you from dealing with the land, housing, old age, and other social problems !

You have it in your power to see that Parliament carries out your wishes. The Labour Representation Executive appeals to you in the name of one million Trade Unionists to forget all the political differences which have kept you apart in the past, and vote for——. [Here is inserted the name of the Labour candidate in each constituency.]

MINEERS' MANIFESTO.

THE Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain have issued a manifesto asking for the votes and active interest of all Trade Unionists. The manifesto sets forth :—

The Federation has spent much money and effort, by lobbying members and in other ways, for the promotion of the various Labour questions in which we are interested, such as an Eight Hours Bill, an amended Mines Bill, old age pensions, an amended Workmen's Compensation Act, the Trades Disputes Bill, and many other measures of vital importance to working men. We have always felt, however, that the amount of success has not attended our efforts which we could have desired, and this we believe to be due mainly to the want of a larger number of direct Labour representatives in Parliament. We now have our opportunity to prove whether we are in earnest in securing these and other necessary reforms, and so, with this object in view, candidates accepted by various constituencies and endorsed by this Federation will seek your suffrages. Whilst the candi-

dates will run under the auspices of the Miners' Federation, they will be found to be in full accord with the aspirations and needs of the labouring classes generally, and will co-operate heartily with other Labour representatives.

THE I.L.P. MANIFESTO.

THE I.L.P. has issued a leaflet to working-class electors of Great Britain, the first paragraph of which deplors the lack of representation of the workers. It criticises them, and says that "in the speeches and election addresses of leading politicians Labour and Social questions are either ignored, or, at the best, mentioned in the most vague and perfunctory manner." A like remark applied to the Churches:—

"We desire it to be plainly understood that the fault of this lies at the door of you, the working classes. Hitherto you have been content to leave your political thinking to be done for you by party politicians, and your opinions to be formed for you by their hirelings in the Press. The main reason for the existence of Liberals and Conservatives is to protect the interests of the rich, and keep you divided. This they accomplish by keeping you wrangling over matters which concern you but slightly,

if at all. They appeal to your religious prejudices, your racial animosities, your patriotism and your pride; and whilst you quarrel among yourselves, they quietly fill their own pockets and empty yours."

The land was in the hands of the rich, and whilst workers were sunk in the depths of poverty, though they had the power to alter all this inequality, they kept on shouting and voting for those who plundered them. Pauperism was increasing, the House of Lords dominated Parliament; property qualification ruled. Women were without votes; there were slums, intemperance, sectarian strife over education, a capitalistic Press, and other disgraces.

"The I.L.P. is a Socialist organisation, and is creating a political party which shall not be allied to or under the control of any other party, but which shall fight for the right of the workers against all comers."

The manifesto ends thus:—"Workers of Britain! For generations you and your fathers have been fooled by party politicians. Come out now from the camp of the enemy and be fooled no longer. Create and finance and control a party of your own, and thus prove that democracy is a reality."

APPENDIX D.

COMPLETE LIST OF LABOUR MEMBERS, ETC.

Labour in the Commons.

WE give here a list of the new Members officially representing Labour or likely to be reliable voters in support of Labour measures. It will be seen that of the 29 L.R.C. Members, there are 21 Socialists. J. W. Taylor, who won such a great victory for the Chester-le-Street miners, is also a Socialist, and pledged to work with the L.R.C. group. Messrs P. Alden, Clement Edwards, J. Ward, and Messrs W. P. Byles, L. G. C. Money, C. F. G. Masterman, and A. Rendall, elected as Radicals, are also Socialists. It may be noted that no Labour Member of the last Parliament has failed to be re-elected.

**The Labour Party (including two Lancashire
and one Durham Miners) (30).**

Chairman—J. KEIR HARDIE.

Deputy-Chairman—D. J. SHACKLETON.

Whips—J. R. MACDONALD; A. HENDERSON.

Barnes, G. N. (Amalg. Eng.)*, Blackfriars, Glasgow.

Bowerman, C. W. (Lond. Comps.), Deptford.

Clynes, J. R. (I.L.P.)*, N.E. Manchester.

§ Crooks, W. (Coopers)†, Woolwich.

Duncan, C. (Amalg. Eng.)*, Barrow.

Gill, A. H. (Spinners), Bolton.

Glover, T. (Miners), St Helens.

§ Hardie, J. K. (I.L.P.)* †, Merthyr Tydfil.

§ Henderson, A. (Ironfounders), Barnard Castle, Durham.

Hodge, J. (Steelmelters), Gorton, Lancashire.

Hudson, W. (Railway Serv.)†, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Jenkins, J. (Shipwrights), Chatham.

Jowett, F. W. (I.L.P.)*, W. Bradford.

Kelley, G. D. (Lithogr.), S.W. Manchester.

MacDonald, J. R. (I.L.P.)*, Leicester.

Macpherson, J. T. (Steelmelters)*, Preston.

O'Grady, J. (Furnishing Trades)* †, E. Leeds.

Parker, J. (I.L.P.)*, Halifax.

Richards, T. F. (Shoemakers)*, W. Wolverhampton.

Roberts, G. H. (Typo. Society)*, Norwich.

* Members of I.L.P. † Fabians. § Re-elected.

Seddon, J. A. (Trades Council)*, Newton, Lancashire.
 § Shackleton, D. J. (Weavers), Clitheroe, Lancashire.
 Snowden, P. (I.L.P.)*, Blackburn.
 Summerbell, T. (I.L.P.)*, Sunderland.
 Thorne, W. (Gasworkers and S.D.F.), S.W. Ham.
 Walsh, S. (Miners), Ince, Lancashire.
 Wardle, G. J. (Railwaymen)*, Stockport.
 Wilkie, A. (Shipwrights), Dundee.
 Wilson, W. T. (Carp. and Joiners)*, Westhoughton,
 Lancashire.

Taylor, J. W. (Miners), Chester-le-Street, Durham.

The Liberal Labour Group (26).

Chairman—ENOCH EDWARDS.

Vice-Chairman—RICHARD BELL.

Whips—C. FENWICK ; JOHN WARD.

A.—MINERS' MEMBERS (13).

§ Abraham, W., Rhondda, Glam.

Brace, W., S. Glamorgan.

§ Burt, T., Morpeth.

Edwards, E., Hanley.

§ Fenwick, C., Wansbeck, Northumberland.

Haslam, J., Chesterfield.

Hall, F., Normanton, Yorks.

§ Johnson, H., Gateshead.

Johnson, W., Nuneaton, Warwick.

* Members of I.L.P. † Fabians. § Re-elected.

- § Richards, T., W. Monmouth.
 Williams, J., Gower, Glam.
 § Wilson, J., Mid-Durham.
 Wadsworth, J., Hallamshire, Yorks.

B.—OTHER MEMBERS (13).

- § Bell, R., Derby.
 § Broadhurst, H., Leicester.
 § Cremer, W. R., Haggerston, London.
 Edwards, Clement, Denbigh Burghs.
 Maddison, F., Burnley.
 Nicholls, G., Northants.
 Richardson, A., S. Nottingham.
 Robertson, J. M., Tyneside.
 Rowlands, J., Dartford, Kent.
 Steadman, W. C.,† Finsbury, London.
 Vivian, H., Birkenhead.
 Ward, J., Stoke-on-Trent.
 Wilson, J. Havelock, Middlesborough.

Ireland sends at least one Unionist-Labour Member, Mr T. Sloan (Belfast), who defeated an official Unionist; also the following Nationalist Labour leaders:—E. Crean (S.E. Cork), J. Nannetti (Dublin), Kendal O'Brien (Mid-Tipperary), J. J. Shee (Waterford West), and D. D. Sheehan (Mid-Cork).

* Members of I.L.P. † Fabian. § Re-elected.

The following, among many other Radicals may be expected to take an active interest in the promotion of Labour measures:—W. P. Byles (N. Salford), J. H. Dalziel (Kirkcaldy), C. F. G. Masterman (N.W. Ham), L. G. Chiozza Money (Paddington), A. Rendall (Thornbury, Glos.), †A. H. Scott (Ashton-under-Lyne), P. W. Wilson (St Pancras), P. Alden (Tottenham), and Dr Macnamara (Camberwell). To these sympathisers may be added:—G. P. Gooch (Bath), Liberal; Claude Hay (Hoxton), Conservative, and possibly several other Liberal and Conservative members.

To the Labour Liberals may be added The Right Hon. John Burns (Battersea), who entered Parliament as a Socialist in 1892, but who has long been associated with the Liberal Party, and has now accepted office as President of the Local Government Board.

The Liberal-Labour group recognises the Liberal Whips, but has its own Whips for purely industrial questions. On certain Trade-Union questions it unites with the Labour Party. Its members also belong to Sir Charles Dilke's Radical group. Messrs Burt, Abraham, Broadhurst, Maddison, Vivian, and others are hostile to Socialism.

APPENDIX E.

ADDRESSES AND ABBREVIATIONS.

The Labour Party (formerly Labour Representation Committee, L.R.C.). 28 Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

The Fabian Society = F.S. 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

The *Clarion* Publishing Co. = *Clarion*. 72 Fleet Street, E.C.

The Independent Labour Party = I.L.P. 10 Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The Social Democratic Federation = S.D.F. 37A Clerkenwell Green, E.C. (address for Literature), and 3 Bolt Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

The Christian Social Union = C.S.U. Central. General Sec., Pusey House, Oxford.

London Branch, 102 Adelaide Road, N.W.

The Guild of St Matthew = G.S.M. 376 Strand, W.C.

APPENDIX F.

LITERATURE RECOMMENDED.

NOTE.—*All papers and pamphlets, 1d., post free 1½d., except when price is otherwise specified. For addresses, see Appendix E.*

NEWSPAPERS.

WEEKLY.—*The Clarion*.—Ed. Robert Blatchford. A brilliant and widely-circulated Socialist paper. R. Suthers, A. E. Fletcher, A. M. Thompson, Neil Lyons, M. Blatchford, etc., frequent contributions; G. Bernard Shaw, H. Hyndman, James Adderley, and all the best Socialist writers. The battle-ground of many controversies, and a storehouse of municipal and political information.

The Labour Leader.—Ed. Bruce Glasier, Official Organ of I.L.P. Valuable contributions from Keir Hardie, M.P., other Labour Members, S. D. Shallard, etc. Socialist, Trade Union, and Co-operative articles.

Justice.—Ed. H. Quelch. Official Organ of S.D.F. Articles by H. Hyndman, Belfort Bax, Herbert Burrows, etc. Vigorously written. In line with German Social Democracy. Generally valuable, and invariably abusive. (*N.B.*—The abuse is *often* well merited.)

MONTHLY.—*The Commonwealth*.—3d. Ed. Canon H. Scott Holland. A Christian Social Magazine. (Pub. Wells, Gardner, Darton, Victoria Street, Westminster.) Church and Social Reform. Tendency, socialistic. Writers—Percy Dearmer, C. L. Marson, and other Anglican Socialist priests, C. F. G. Masterman, M.P., G. K. Chesterton, Dean of Westminster, etc.

BOOKS, TRACTS, AND PAMPHLETS.

A. SOCIALISM—THEORY—IDEALS—DEFINITIONS— POLICY, ETC.

- Fabian Essays in Socialism. Ed. Bernard Shaw. Pub. 1889. Paper 1s., cloth 2s. Post free. Pub. F.S.
- Fabian Tracts. Bound. 1 vol. Buckram, 4s. 6d. Post free, 5s. About 60 penny pamphlets on Theoretic and Applied Socialism. Extremely valuable. Pub. F.S.
- Britain for the British. Robert Blatchford. 3d. Post free, 4½d. Pub. *Clarion*.
- Socialism and Society. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. Sec. L.P. 1s. 6d. Post free. Pub. I.L.P.
- Report on Fabian Policy. An epigrammatic summary of modern Socialist principles. Pub. F.S.
- Socialism, True and False. Pub. F.S.
- Facts for Socialists. „
- Capital and Land. „
- The Difficulties of Individualism. „
- History of Trade Unionism. Mr and Mrs Sidney Webb. 2nd ed. 1901. 7s. 6d. net. Longmans.
- Socialism. B. F. Westcott (late Bishop of Durham). 2d. Pub. G.S.M.
- Gladstonian Ghosts. By Cecil Chesterton. 2s. 6d. Pub. Brown, Langham & Co.
- Britain's Homes. George Haw. 2s. 6d. Pub. *Clarion*.

LITERATURE WORTH CONSULTING 179

The Individual Under Socialism. Philip Snowden. Pub. I.L.P.

Liberal and Tory Hypocrisy. C. A. Glyde. Pub. S.D.F.

Land Nationalisation. Robert Blatchford. Pub. *Clarion*.

Fabianism and the Fiscal Question. Pub. F.S.

B. APPLIED SOCIALISM.

Killed by High Rates. A reply to the *Daily Mail*. R. Suthers. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Pub. *Clarion*.

The Truth about the Trams. R. Suthers. Pub. *Clarion*.

Political Reorganisation of the People. William Saunders. 1s. 6d. Sonnenschein.

John Bull and His Unemployed. Keir Hardie, M.P. Pub. I.L.P.

Municipal Milk. A. W. Short. Pub. I.L.P.

Municipal Bread. T. H. Griffin. Pub. I.L.P.

After Bread—Education (Feeding School Children). Pub. F.S.

Municipal Milk and Public Health. By F. Lawson Dodd. Pub. F.S.

The House Famine, and How to Relieve It. Pub. F.S.

Municipal Drink Traffic. Pub. F.S.

Municipal Drink. Edward R. Pease. 2s. 6d. net; post free, 2s. Pub. F.S.

The Common Sense of Municipal Trading. Bernard Shaw. 2s. 6d. Pub. F.S.

Mind Your Own Business. R. Suthers. 2s. 6d. net. A convincing defence of Municipal Trading. Pub. *Clarion*.

The Revival of Agriculture. Pub. F.S.

Eight Hours Law, and The Case for an Eight Hours Bill. Pub. F.S.

State Arbitration and the Living Wage. Illustrated from New Zealand Law. Pub. F.S.

See also—

Annual Reports of the Labour Party.

What to Read on Social and Economic Subjects. The
Fabian Society's 6d. Guide to the Best Books. 4th
ed. 1901. Post free, 7d.

Also write for Fabian List of Tracts. Sent free.

Ready shortly—

My Right to Work. R. Suthers. Pub. *Clarion*.

Essays embodying the Socialist Solution of the
Unemployed Problem; an Able Refutation of
Free Trade and Protectionist Fallacies.

Riches and Poverty. L. G. Chiozza Money. Pub.
Methuen. 7s. 6d.

Standard Works.

COMPLETE POPULAR EDITIONS. ILLUSTRATED.

Large Crown 8vo, Cloth. Price 2/6 net.

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Rome and Pompeii. Archæological Rambles.

By GASTON BOISSIER.

"M. Gaston Boissier is one of the few living archæologists who can make the dead bones of the past live again. While his researches show the accuracy and thoroughness which we associate with German scholarship, he has a gift of exposition which is wholly French. We can imagine therefore, no better handbook for traveller or archæologist than this one. —*Daily Mail*.

Holyoake: Sixty Years of an Agitator's Life.

By GEORGE JACOB HOLYOAKE.

"A valuable contribution to the political, social, intellectual, and even revolutionary history of our time."—*Times*.

"The book is full of interest; it produces a vivid, personal impression, it contains contemporary notes on men and women of the century, it has shrewd and vigorous sentences, and illustrates our own progress in civilising thought."—*Spectator*.

Sir Walter Raleigh.

By Major MARTIN A. S. HUME.

"An admirable book which ought to be read by every one who takes any interest in things that ought to interest all—the building of the Empire and the men who built it. There is not a dull page in it, and with his skilful telling of it, the story of Raleigh's life and of his times reads like a romance."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

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The Life and Times of Machiavelli.

By Professor PASQUALE VILLARI.

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The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat.

By JOHN SMITH MOFFAT.

"A loving record of a noble life, which has left the world a lesson for all time of the power of earnest labour and simple faith."—*Daily Chronicle*.

The History of Florence.

By Professor PASQUALE VILLARI.

"This volume is indeed worthy of the reputation of its author. . . . We feel very grateful to him for having given us the most concise, and at the same time perhaps the most complete constitutional history that has yet appeared of the first two centuries of the Florentine Republic."—*Speaker*.

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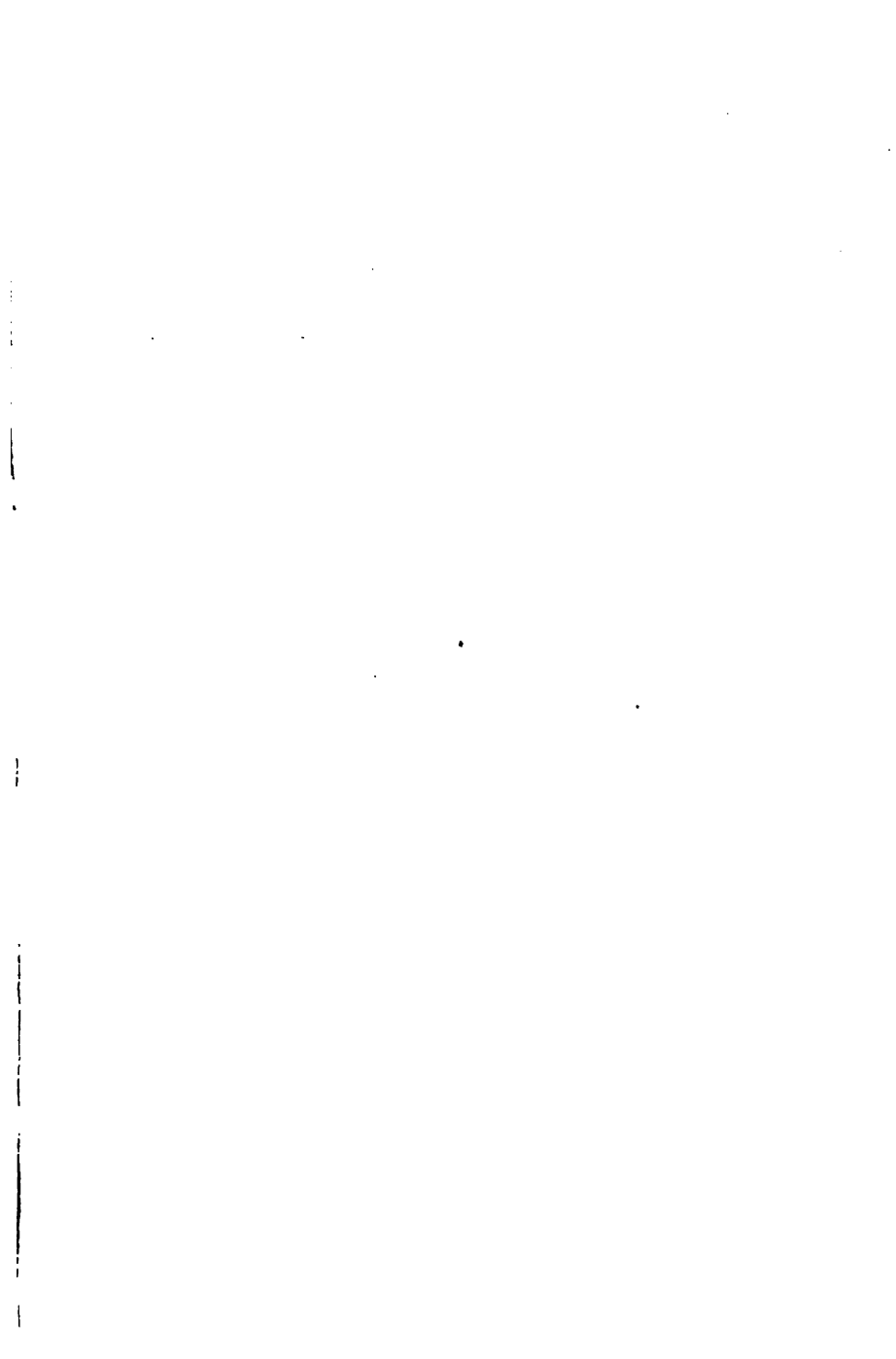
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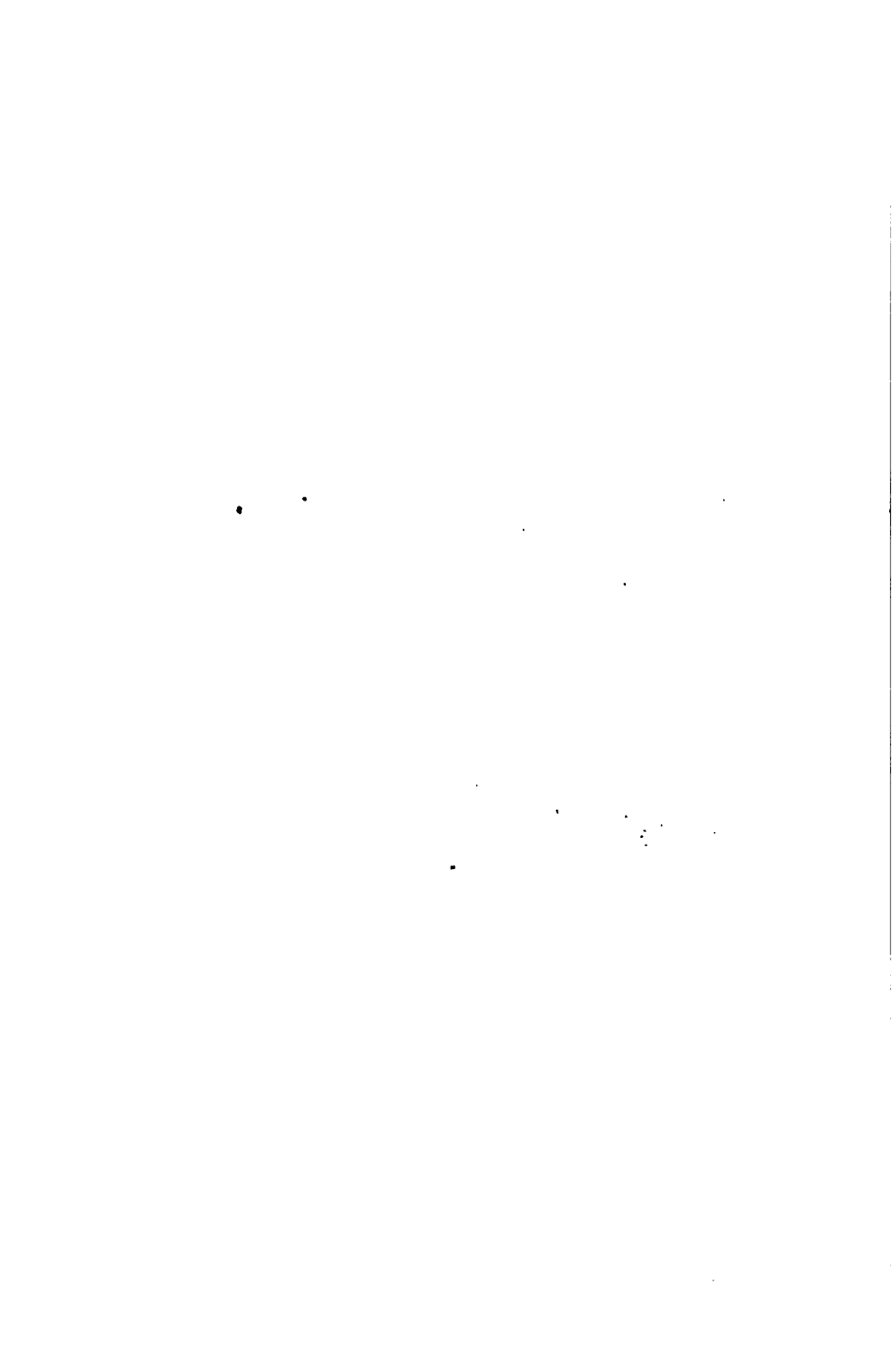
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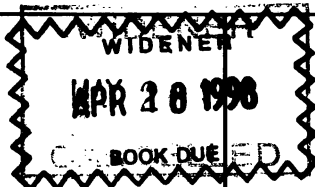
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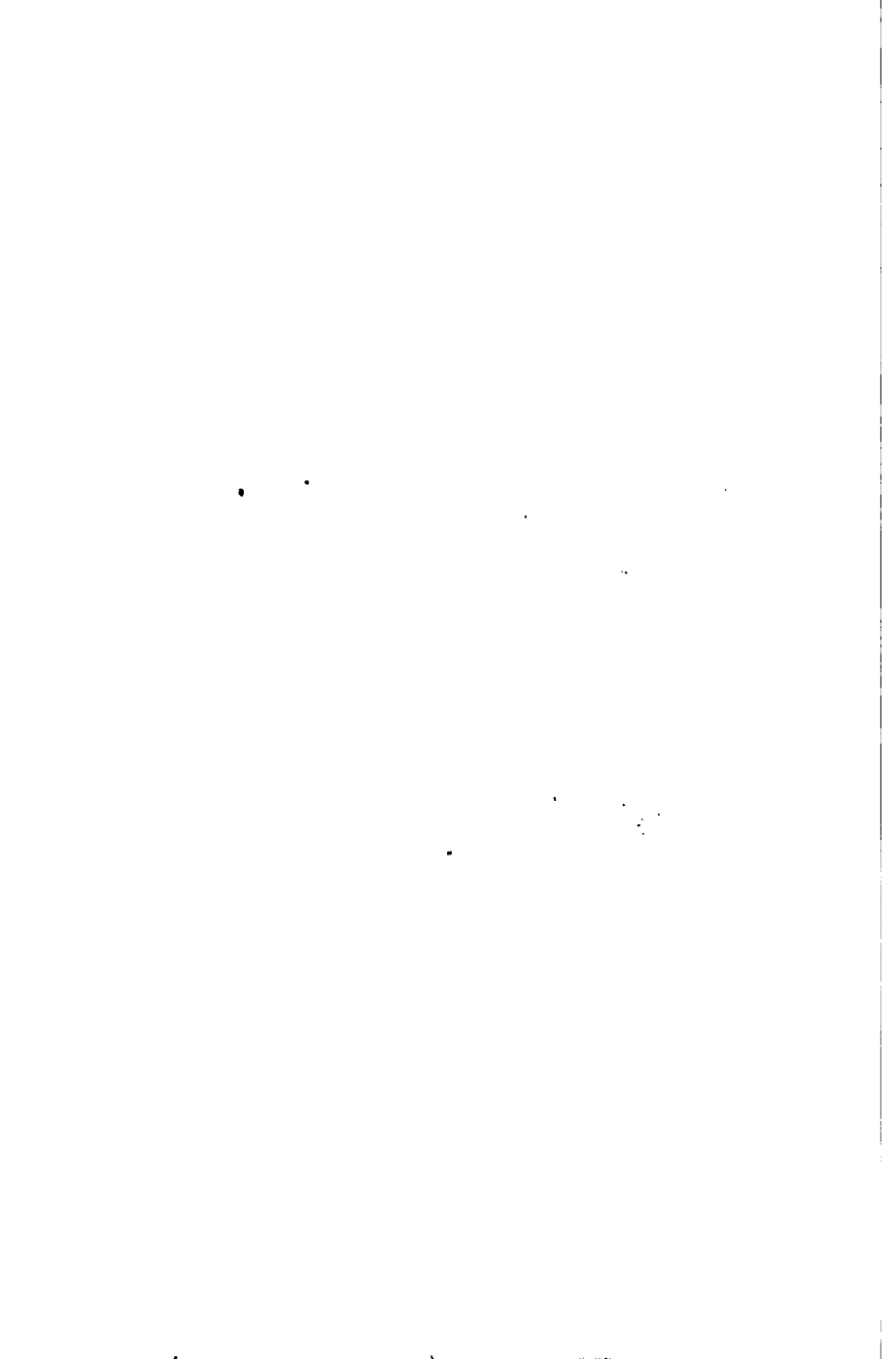
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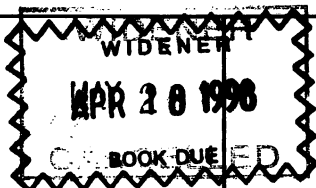
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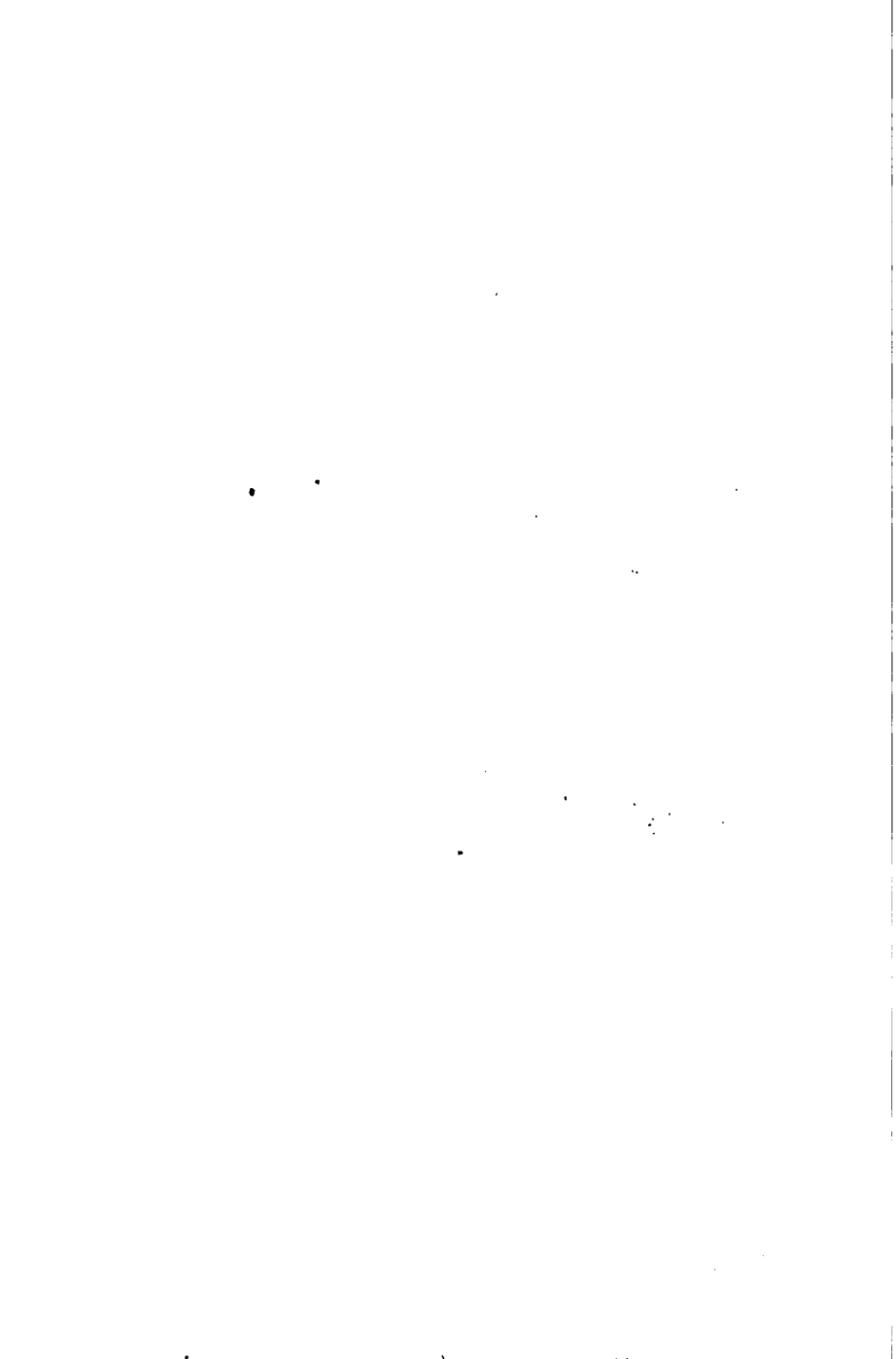
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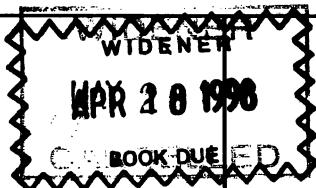
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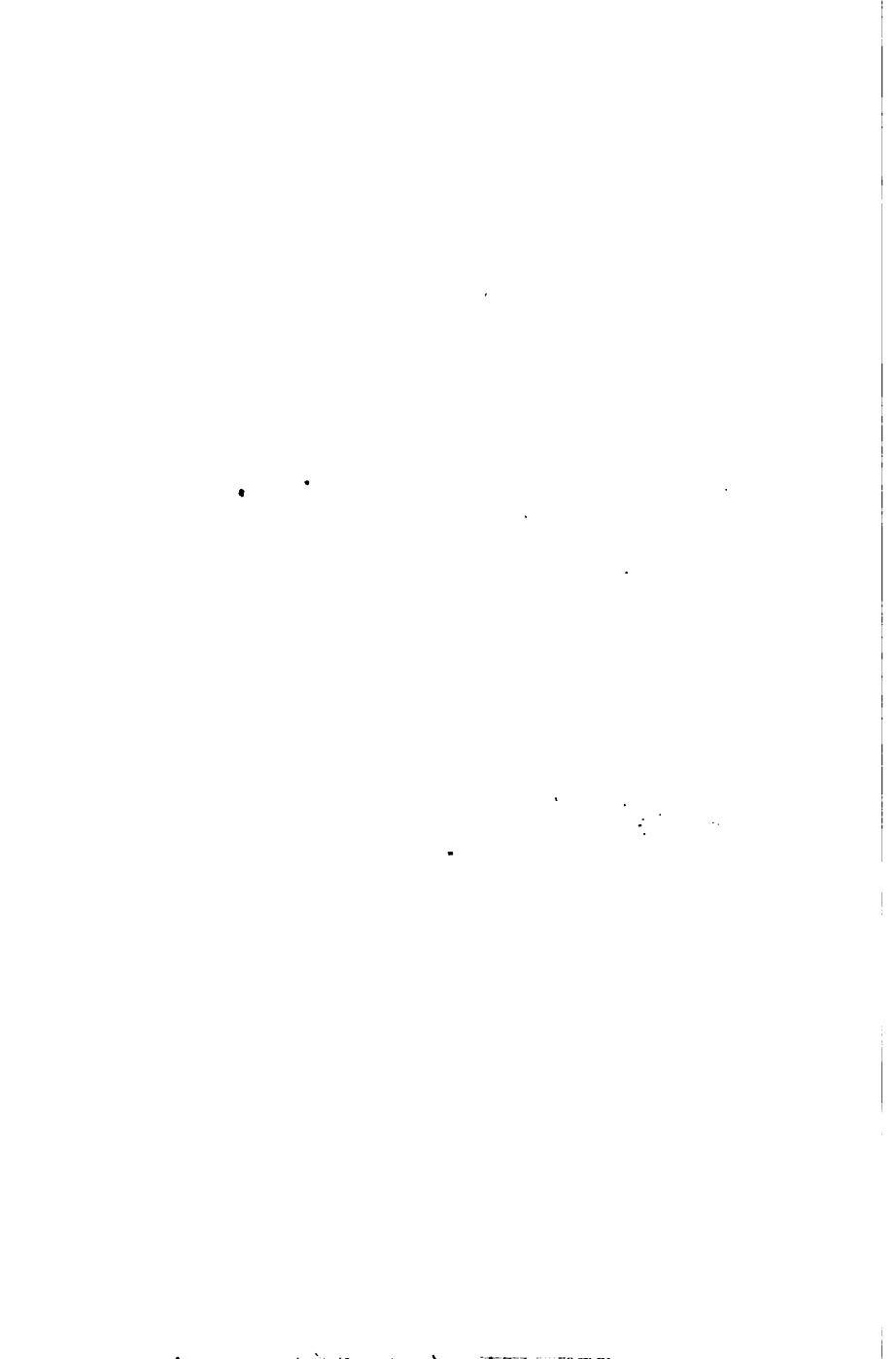
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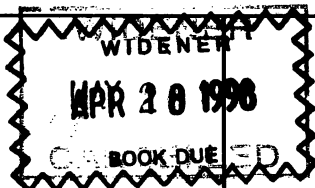
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